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How to Systematically Design and Develop a Mastery-Based Advertising Skills Course

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How to Systematically Design and Develop a Mastery-Based Advertising Skills Course

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Abstract

After incorporating mastery-based learning in an advertising graphics course at the University of Florida, students improved skill competency, and increased interest and understanding of course material when compared to traditional teaching methods. Modifying the EPA Instructional Design Model, we evaluated attitudes and competencies of students taught with our traditional instruction. We evaluated our own attitudes, teaching methods, and grading procedures. We determined our basic problem was, for various reasons, a lack of performance skills that allowed students to produce competent layouts and camera-ready ads. We designed, developed and implemented a mastery-based system that solved this problem. The results supported the fact that students could develop higher skill competency, more positive attitudes, more effective critique skills, and more knowledge. For instructors, grading time was reduced, providing time for more desirable instructional activities. Because of increased interaction with students, we encouraged a positive learning environment. Therefore, by designing a mastery-based instructional program, we created an effective learning atmosphere in which students *and* teachers are motivated and interested in learning.

How to Systematically Design and Develop a Mastery-Based Advertising Skills Course

Introduction

In 1989, we investigated ways to change *Advertising Graphics and Production,* a junior/senior level class. While our original format was relatively successful, we believed there was a way to make it more interesting and valuable for the students— *and* more interesting and rewarding for the teachers. After evaluating our existing teaching methods and determining what the students were learning, we discussed what we *wanted* the students to learn, and ways they could learn the skills and information more effectively. We completed our evaluations, analyzed our needs and tasks, developed teaching methods and changed most of the course materials during the Fall term. We implemented the changes in Spring, 1990. The results were immediate and dramatic—for both students and teachers.

The process was systematic. It involved *Instructional Design* and implemented the concept of *mastery-based learning.*

Mastery-Based Learning

Mastery-based learning provides a way to change the student's goal from merely getting a good grade to mastering the course material—which means getting away from a traditional grading system and adopting a "do it until you get it right" philosophy.

In 1976, Benjamin Bloom, a noted educational researcher, said,

> Most students can attain a high level of learning capability if instruction is approached sensitively and systematically, if students are helped when and where they have learning difficulties, if they are given sufficient time to achieve mastery, and if there is some clear criterion of what constitutes mastery.[1]

In many traditional instructional programs, the responsibility of learning rests on the teacher. After lectures and demonstrations, projects are assigned and exams

administered. The teacher assigns grades based on the students' one-time performance on assignments. If the students do not master skills and information, they usually are not required to redo the work because it would add to the teacher's heavy grading load. While a teacher's efforts usually are considered the most important, Jerrold Kemp (1985) states,

> An instructional design plan allows the instructor to devise methods for successful learning, while learners must take major responsibility for accomplishing the goals of learning. Learning is accomplished individually by each learner or trainee. Therefore, whether learners are taught in a class or individually, activities should be so designed that each person is actively engaged in the learning process.[2]

Instructional Design is a system which includes the learner, the instructor, the instructional materials and the learning environment.[3] Since all are equally important and inter-related, if one element is changed, its relationship with other elements of the system must be re-evaluated and possibly modified.

Results prove "mastery" is worth implementing

By learning in a mastery-based system, students improved their skill competency, increased interest and positive attitudes, developed more effective critique skills, and attained higher knowledge of the subject. Since this is a *basic* graphics class, we emphasize design and production with traditional hand-skills.

Prior to implementing our new methods, students learned the course material, but they were not required to *master* the skills and information. As in many traditional methods, our grades were based on the instructor's evaluation of one-time performance.

After changing to the mastery-based system, we *required* students to master skills and information before they could move on to the next assignment. The number of projects completed determined the grade; therefore, the learners decided their own grades. They worked at their own pace, and ultimately decided the amount of material they would master. The responsibility of learning was placed in their hands.

After being taught with our mastery-based system, many more students became interested in design, art direction, graphics and production. At the end of the course, several said they had learned more than they thought possible, and they developed better hand skills and abilities than in most classes. Several students sought internships at design firms, advertising agency and magazine art or production departments, and printing establishments. Several received those internships. Some received employment offers.

Internship supervisors noticed a dramatic increase in the skill level and knowledge of the interns who had taken the class after mastery-based instruction was introduced. While the course traditionally had been considered a "plus" when applying for internships, several supervisors said they now would require *Advertising Graphics and Production* as a prerequisite for their internships.

Approximately 50 students enroll in the class each term. Prior to using the mastery-based system, at most two or three students received *A* grades at the end of the term. During the semester we implemented the new system, seven students earned *A* grades. The number of *B* and *C* grades remained about the same because most of the students either chose not to complete more projects, or they ran out of time. Two students failed because they chose not to complete the required projects. None of the students questioned their final grades—including the two who failed. It seemed that since the grade was the student's own responsibility —rather than based on "subjective" comments written on a paper by the instructor— all of the students easily accepted the grades they received.

Benefits of "mastery-based learning"

We considered the following as benefits for students:

1. The students gain skills by working for a proficiency level. Since they redo tasks they have done incorrectly, students practice and eventually master the skill. Therefore, they experience more of a "real world" situation than our traditional methods allowed. Art directors and production artists do not make an *A, B* or *C* on a project—they do it

until it is accepted by the boss or the client. Our students do the same.

2. There is less focus on grades and more on performance—and less anxiety about expectations because the students know what is expected of them. There is little or no anxiety over failure because a student can attempt a task over and over until mastery is reached—with no penalty.
3. Since the student works at his or her own pace, those who work quickly, and understand the material, can finish the course requirements before the last week of the semester. This becomes an extra motivating factor.
4. Students spend time with the instructor getting immediate feedback and learn to talk about their work. They use design and production terminology when discussing projects with the instructor or a lab assistant.
5. The students learn techniques to make their work go faster. These could be suggestions made by either the instructor, the lab assistants or other students working in the lab. Those who complete skill tests tend to help others learn how to do the tasks. Those who help others seem to learn it even more.
6. Students learn to work in front of people. By the end of the term, most are no longer nervous to perform while someone is watching.
7. Students learn skills and gain experience which help them obtain internships and employment after graduation.

We considered the following as benefits for instructors:

1. Grading time is reduced, and in some cases eliminated. While it takes more office hours and "campus time," the instructor is with the students instead of with papers.
2. There is more student/professor "quality time." The instructor and students get to know each other while discussing positive things about student work, as well as explaining what is wrong. There is immediate feedback and response.

3. While evaluating the work, the instructor sees improvement in a student's ability and can explain techniques to help that student improve. Together, they can discuss numerous possibilities, so the student realizes "there is not only one solution to a problem."
4. There is less potential for cheating. Since the students perform in the lab and are observed by instructors or lab assistants, it is obvious the students —not someone else—master the skill. While they may get help on projects, the instructor knows, by skill test performance, that each student can perform the skills.

Because of the increased interaction with students, we encouraged a relaxed and positive learning environment; and by designing a mastery-based instructional program, we created an effective learning atmosphere in which both the students and teachers were motivated and interested in learning.

Mastery-based learning is especially effective when designing skill-based courses such as graphics, copywriting and art direction.

How we did it: Developing Our Instructional Plan

Numerous instructional design models exist. But as Kemp says, "There is no single 'best' way to design instruction. . . Instructors and designers are unique individuals, just as learners are unique. Each designer will formulate activities and apply elements of the instructional design plan in an individual way."[4] While we based our design on a model used by the Environmental Protection Agency, we modified it to fit our needs. The following is a list of the basic components which are found in most models. Some designs may include more, some less. Which components to use, and their order, may vary depending on the instructor's needs.

Problem Identification	Conduct a *needs assessment*—ask questions about your current situation and the desired situation.
Learner Identification	Find out about your students.
Content Identification	Determine the topics (general) and tasks (specific).
Support Services	Describe space, equipment, personnel, etc.
Task Analysis	Identify components of each task and sequence the steps or describe the procedure.
Learning Objectives	Specifically state what is to be learned.
Student Evaluation: Methods and Pretesting	Specify ways to measure knowledge, performance and/or attitude.
Teaching/Learning Methods and Media	Choose the most effective way to present information; choose media and materials.
Write/Design Materials	Produce materials and media for both teaching and learning.
System Evaluation and Program Revision	Continually evaluate program's effectiveness and revamp the materials, delivery or activities.

Problem Identification

To fully understand the scope of the problem, perform a simple *needs assessment* which uncovers both perceived and actual needs. The *actual need* is the gap between the present situation and the desired situation. This is the problem you can solve with systematically designed instruction.

Don't ask yourself "what is the problem as I see it," because that may only describe a perceived need—not an actual one. Instead, ask yourself these two very important questions: What is the present situation? And what is the desired situation? In answering these questions, consult educators, students and the community (internship coordinators and future employers) affected by the course. In each of these groups you may use numerous sources for gathering information, such as: student records, interviews, questionnaires, and teacher evaluations.

In our case, we described our own attitudes, teaching methods, and grading procedures. Then we asked our current and former students to describe their opinions of the course. We identified the current situation in the following way:

- The teacher spent a great deal of time grading papers.
- The teacher found teaching to be more frustrating than satisfying.
- Students had little one-on-one contact with the teacher.
- The students became overwhelmed by course requirements and often either gave up or seemed to be uninterested in performing.
- Internship coordinators felt students only knew of design and production in theory, not in practice; therefore, students were not given the opportunity to perform many design and production tasks.

Next, we described the desired situation.

- The teacher wanted to spend considerably less time grading papers at home and on weekends, and to find a more efficient way to tell students what is good and what is bad about their work.
- The teacher wanted to reduce "teacher burnout" and enjoy teaching again.
- Students wanted skills that would aid in gaining employment before and after graduation; likewise, employers desired employees who needed less training.

In comparing these two situations we identified the gap between "what is" and "what should be." We had the following actual needs:

- Students need to be able to perform skills, not just know about them—a psychomotor, or skill-oriented need.
- Students need to have a theoretical basis for design, and be able to apply that knowledge, to specific design and production problems—a cognitive, or information-based need.
- Both students and instructors need to find fulfillment in the class experience—an affective, or attitude-based need.

Identify Learner Characteristics

Describe the learners in specific terms so that instruction can be tailored to that group. This is not to suggest that you must change the course for each student or group of students, but instead, you anticipate and address the needs of many different types of learners. Awareness of learner characteristics also help the teacher understand why some students learn material easily and others do not.

The following six learning characteristics will help define the situation—however, there is no all-encompassing list.[5]

Social Backgrounds

respectful	disrespectful
tolerant	prejudiced
sympathetic	unsympathetic
empathetic	callous
cooperative	uncooperative

How social backgrounds may affect planning: Consider group projects. If you have a class of cooperative and tolerant people, group projects most likely will work well. But if you have uncooperative and prejudiced people, group projects probably will be frustrating, so other methods might be considered.

Experiential Backgrounds

reads a lot	reads little
extensive interests	limited interests
study skills	no study skills
high achievers	low achievers
traveled widely	limited travel

How experiential backgrounds may affect planning: You may decide to incorporate a field trip or guest speakers into your instruction if a majority of your learners has limited exposure to a variety of experiences.

Developmental Backgrounds

rational	irrational
quick to learn	slow to learn
can integrate ideas	can't integrate ideas
contemplative	shallow thinker
good memory	poor memory

How developmental backgrounds may affect planning: By including both group instruction and individual learning activities, you are accommodating quick learners as well as slow ones.

Motivational Backgrounds

energetic	lazy
persistent	easily discouraged
shows initiative	lacks initiative
enthusiastic	bored
curious	uninterested
inquisitive	indifferent

How motivational backgrounds may affect planning: Discovering why students are taking the class can help determine to what extent a topic is covered. For example, motivation levels differ for some required classes as opposed to electives. Students are forced to take required classes—even if the course does not seem to directly relate to the student's specific career goals. For instance, a media planning student taking a skill-based copy and layout class may have low motivation. Yet when students choose electives, they usually select courses related to personal interest areas, therefore, they have more enthusiasm, curiosity and initiative in that course.

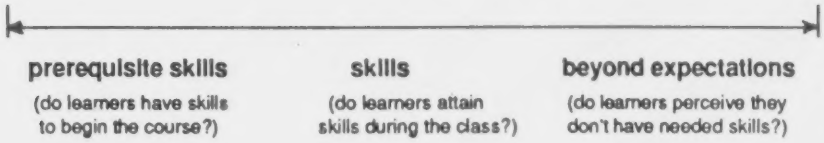
Learning Styles (Patterns of behavior)

listener	reader
visual	tactile
task oriented	not-task oriented
likes order	needs no order
individuality	wants authority figure
fact oriented	analyzes differences

How learning styles may affect planning: Presenting information in various forms can facilitate learning for different learners. For example, visual learners respond to pictures; tactile learners respond to models; and auditory learners respond to spoken word. In later stages of the instructional design, this will help determine teaching/learning methods and media.

Content Knowledge (anything needed to learn content)

Possesses Prerequisites	Lacks Prerequisites
Mastered skills	Non-mastery of skills


prerequisite skills
(do learners have skills to begin the course?)
skills
(do learners attain skills during the class?)
beyond expectations
(do learners perceive they don't have needed skills?)

How content knowledge may affect planning: Based on this continuum, one can understand the frustration level of students. If they believe an instructor is expecting them to do things beyond their skill level, they become frustrated. If they are dwelling too much on what they already know, they become bored. As they learn and master new skills, the frustration level declines and interest level increases.

In our case, "usual students" can be described as the general population of the advertising students in our department: the GPA requirement to enter the program is 3.0, but the students come from a wide variety of ethnic, economic and educational backgrounds. Since our course is an elective, and the only prerequisite is *Introduction to Advertising,* some students have basic layout skills that they learned in other classes or jobs, while others have never produced a layout. For this reason, some students need more guidance and practice than others. We used existing records to define our "usual student," but a questionnaire administered at the beginning of a course is also a good way to gather valuable information about student needs and preferences.

With all of these variables, we decided that we would need to incorporate several kinds of learning activities and evaluation methods in order to address the vastly different characteristics of our learners.

Content Identification

List exactly what you must teach to fill the need, the gap defined earlier. This includes general topics as well as specific tasks which represent the basis for the course content.

We defined our two general topics to be *design* and *production.* The following are the specific tasks for those topics that we deemed necessary to meet our needs:

- Students need to have basic hand-skills necessary to solve the required layout and production assignments: Using T-squares,

triangles, drawing pencils and markers; tracing and drawing skills; layout and hand-lettering skills; and basic pasteup skills, including cutting and attaching overlays to mechanicals.

- Students need to brainstorm ideas and apply design fundamentals, such as layout stages, design principles, layout formats, typography selection, readability and legibility factors, illustration selection and cropping, and solving production problems.
- Students need to know about graphics equipment and materials necessary to brainstorm production problems and produce quality design and printing, such as light tables, lucies, stat cameras, typesetting equipment, printing and binding equipment, drawing and printing papers, mechanical boards, amberlith, and parapaque.
- Students need to be motivated to solve the required assignments.

Support Services

Identify the physical conditions of the classroom and labs, and describe the resources that are available. List equipment that is available and the days and times that equipment is available to students for practice. Note when graduate or undergraduate student assistants are available to keep labs open and help evaluate student work. If facilities and/or assistance are not available, this will restrict the course design; therefore, do this before projects and skill performance are determined.

When we performed the support analysis, we noted that our lab room is used for numerous other classes, but we have a graphics workroom which is not used as a classroom. Any student may use it from 7 a.m. to 5 p.m. each week day, as well as when the two or three student assistants are willing to work in the evenings. This workroom has a stat camera and phototypesetting equipment which is run by lab assistants and advanced students. Drawing tables, light tables and four lucies are available anytime this room is open. The students, however, must provide their own drawing tools, papers, and production materials.

Task Analysis

Identify task components; that is, detail what a student must know and do to perform each task. Then sequence the steps for each. Depending on whether you have variable sequence or fixed sequence tasks, you may use narratives, outlines or flowcharts.

For instance, we determined a student needed to center a format box on layout paper. To perform that task we listed the following steps:

1. Gather materials and equipment: a ruler, triangle, T-square, masking tape, drawing pencils, layout paper and a drawing board.
2. Using the T-square, make the layout paper square to the table.
3. Tape the paper down to the board with masking tape.
4. First work on the horizontal and find the center of that dimension of the drawing paper by dividing the width of the paper by 2. Using the ruler, find the center of the drawing paper and hold your pencil point on that point.
5. Divide the horizontal dimension of the desired format by 2, and align the center-point dimension on the ruler with the pencil point on the paper. Then put a light mark at 0 and another at the horizontal format dimension.
6. Repeat steps 4 and 5 for the vertical dimensions.
7. Using your T-square, draw light guidelines for the top and bottom lines using the vertical guide marks as alignment points.
8. Using the triangle and the right guide mark, draw dark format lines. Start at the bottom guideline and end at the top guideline.
9. Repeat step 8 for the left side.
10. Darken the top and bottom format lines. Make good corners by starting and ending at the right and left lines.

The task analysis will help in writing objectives and determining instructional methods and media.

Learning Objectives

A successful program requires extremely specific objectives and evaluations. Being vague about expectations, as many instructors are, can "trick" students into concentrating on unimportant material. For instance, "read Chapter 10 in the textbook and you'll be tested on it," is vague. Should the students memorize the chapter? Should they learn the main headings, or will minor details be included? Will they need to discuss the material, or answer simple objective questions? In contrast, "read Chapter 10, and after identifying the 11 layout formats, be able to discuss how that information is applied to brainstorming effective layouts," is specific and measurable.

By writing specific objectives for each task defined in the task analysis, you state exactly what is expected of your students. Objectives include three parts: the expected behavior, any conditions imposed on students, and the degree to which students must perform.

In our example, the objective for centering the format box, is: *Using layout paper, pencils, a T-square, a triangle, and given format dimensions, the student will be able to draw the format, while monitored by lab personnel, so it is centered on the paper, is "square," is no more or less than 1/8 inch from the given dimensions, and has consistent lines that meet at the corners.* In this objective, the expected behavior is hand-drawing the format box. Conditions are the use of the required tools and given dimensions, and demonstration in front of lab personnel. The degrees of performance are centering and accuracy of dimensions to 1/8 inch, alignment of sides to 90° angles, consistency of line thickness, and corners meeting but not crossing.

Student Evaluation: Methods and Pretesting

Evaluation methods directly reflect the behavior stated in the learning objectives. If a behavior is cognitive, then it would be tested through traditional paper/pencil tests or oral examinations. If an objective is performance based, determine whether you will test the process (how they are doing the task) , the

product (the final result of the task), or both. You may use methods such as observation or checklists. Objectives which deal with affective behavior are difficult to test. You may have to rely on questionnaires and observation to evaluate attitude change, and this may not be obvious at the time of instruction.

Pretest content is based on what the instructor plans to teach. Student response to these questions helps the instructor identify the ability-level of students entering the course. Since this test is only for information-gathering purposes, it should be stressed to the students that it will not affect their grades.

In our course, we chose to test cognitive knowledge with two written exams. For skills, we observed students demonstrating the performance of specific tasks. Completion of projects proved students could synthesize theory with multiple skills. While attitude change may occur, it is not required, therefore we do not test for change. However, any change may be noted through observation. Although we do not pretest students at this time, we will begin pretesting once a newly scheduled prerequisite design course is introduced to the curriculum.

It is important for students to realize they do not have only one chance to master a skill test or topic. If they fail to meet specified requirements, they revise their work until it *is* acceptable—without penalty for repeated attempts. This guarantees the students can *use* the information.

Teaching/Learning Methods and Media

The methods and media are based on the learner characteristics, task analysis, learning objectives and evaluation methods. For instance, you may use large group presentation, but also include self-paced materials and one-on-one teacher/student interaction. Tasks may require demonstration as well as description of a process. If an objective states that the student must demonstrate an ability to do a specific task, then practice activities should allow performance of that task.

We decided slide lectures, suggested readings, visual aids, and discussions are appropriate methods and materials for defining terms and describing the processes of design and production.

To teach skills, we chose small-group demonstrations and made practice tests available. For our example of centering a format box, we present the procedure and materials through demonstration to the group, steps are listed in the text for individual reference, and students are encouraged to practice in lab while the instructor is available to answer questions. Ideally, a video or slide/tape demonstration would be available for students who need individual instruction when the instructor is not available.

Our students are given assignment sheets for each task they must master to receive a passing grade in the course. These "skill tests" specifically outline what is expected of them, including a description of the assignment; what they must do to satisfy the requirements; the tools and materials required to perform the task; the procedure they must follow to take the test; and what they will do after they master that task. It also includes what they must do if they do not pass. (See *Skill Test 1: Centering Formats on Layout Paper.)*

Project assignments were developed to test the student's ability to apply cognitive knowledge to skill-based activities. Again, specific information is presented which outlines exactly what is expected. These assignment sheets list project objectives; a project description; "givens," including format size; activities the student must do; things a student is not allowed to do for that specific assignment; suggested possibilities for consideration; a list of the tools and equipment necessary for the assignment; and an overview of the evaluation process. (See *Project 1: Basic layout skills and the design principles.)*

System Evaluation and Program Revision

Throughout the term, evaluate the system's effectiveness. Note methods that work and methods that do not work. For example, if a majority of students misunderstand your objective statement, you need to clearly restate that objective. Or if you find an additional task is necessary to fulfill the need, it should be added to the course content the following term.

This continual re-evaluation of the system allows integration of needed

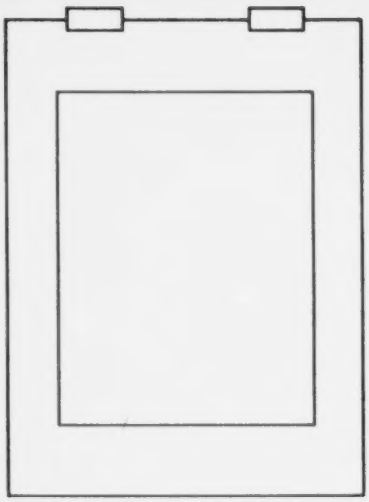
SKILL TEST 1: CENTERING FORMATS ON LAYOUT PAPER

What to do:

Given the format dimensions, you must be able to center a format on a sheet of layout paper. (It's recommended that you use the method demonstrated by your instructor, but that's not required as long as you satisfy the requirements.)

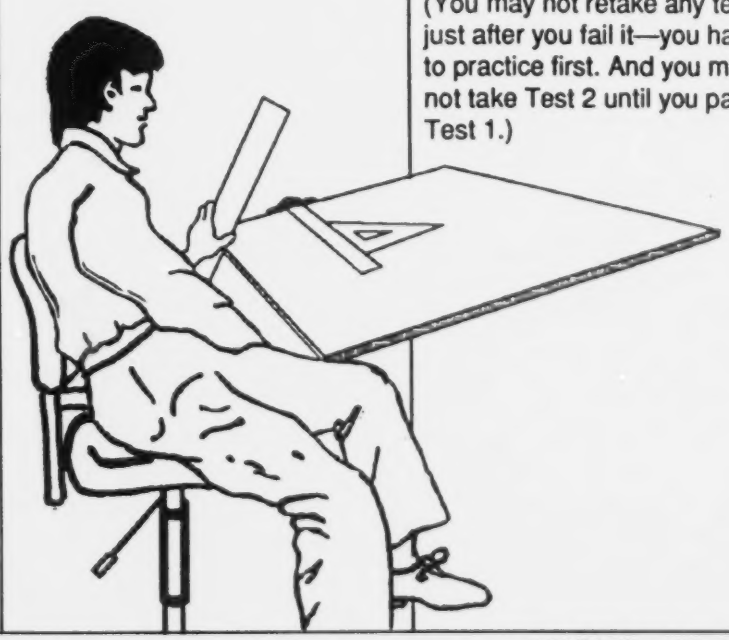
You must satisfy the following requirements:

1. The format must be centered on the layout paper.
2. You must use the T-square and triangle properly.
3. The format must be "square"; that is, the horizontal and vertical lines should be at 90-degree angles.
4. The format may not be more than 1/8" smaller or larger than the given dimensions.
5. Light guidelines should be used correctly.
6. The format lines must be a consistent thickness and darkness.
7. The format lines must meet at the corners and not cross.
8. If it's a vertical rectangle, it must be put on vertical layout paper (11 x 14). If it's a horizontal rectangle, it should be put on horizontal layout paper (14 x 11).



Tools to bring:

T-square
triangle
pica ruler
layout paper
masking tape
pencil (#3H and #2B)



Procedure:

Check to see when the lab is open and bring your tools and materials to room 2058. If there is a table available, you can take it.

You'll be evaluated during the test by a lab assistant. Then they'll evaluate your final work and either pass or fail it.

If you pass

If you pass the test, you may get ready for the next skill test.

If time permits—and if you are ready to take Test 2—you may take more than one test the same day.

If you don't pass

If you fail, you'll have to come back and retake the test. (You may not retake any test just after you fail it—you have to practice first. And you may not take Test 2 until you pass Test 1.)

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Project 1

Basic layout skills and the design principles

The Objective:
Show an understanding of the five design principles and basic layout skills by redesigning an existing ad so that the new design successfully communicates the message of the original ad.

The Assignment:
Produce one rough layout that effectively "redesigns" the elements of the original ad. (Select that effective layout from the numerous "thumbnail" ideas you had during the initial brainstorming period!)

The Givens:
You'll be given a copy of an ad—"the original"—and a format size .
(Note: your format size may not be the same size or proportion as the original.)

Format size for the redesign is:

7" x 10"

Must Do's:
- You must use all of the elements in the original ad—the headline, copy, logo and illustration.
- Produce thumbnail sketches to show the numerous potential solutions you've come up with. These should be turned in.
- Produce preliminary rough layouts (blocking roughs)—to turn in with your final layout.
- You must center the final layout format on layout paper, and make sure the format is "square."
- On the final layout, sketch all logos and illustrations proportional to the original illustration by using a lucie. (This can help you do preliminary rougns, too.)
- You should add contrast to the illustration so that it represents the artwork in the original ad.
- Render all display type elements with "basic letterforms." Sketch-in stroke thickness to display the boldness of the type you wish to display.
- Indicate bodycopy by using one of the lining methods.

May NOTs:
- You may not add any new elements, such as illustration not found on the original ad, or additional copy elements.
- You may not add anything to the illustrations found in the original ad.
- The size of your rough layout may not change the given dimensions by more than 1/8".
- You may not change the original logotype.

Possibilities:
- While brainstorming, you should change the position and size of the elements. Also change typefaces, line lengths (measures), line-for-line type layout, and caps and lowercase composition.
- It's possible to ad rules (lines), rule borders, or boxes to your layout. BUT, you shouldn't "draw with rules." (For example, creating a fence or a sidewalk with straight lines is considered adding illustration. Also, adding boxes to make the art look like "snapshots" is adding to the illustration.)
- While you may not add to it, you may crop the illustration ("cut out" parts of the artwork).
- You may repeat any illustration or copy element.
- If you think you need to explain something about the illustration or copy areas (such as changes after you "finished", you may make margin notes.

  This should be done on the layout paper—outside of the format; or on a tracing-paper overlay (tissue) that is taped to the front of the layout.

Tools & Materials need:
T-square
triangle
pica ruler
layout paper
pencils (#3H, #2B and #4B)*
masking tape

Possible materials needed:
tracing paper for lucie and light-table work—and tissues
frosted tape for tissues

*If you've had experience with markers, you may use black and grey markers for this assignment.
You should add contrast found in the original illustration with the grey markers. Use #3H pencil guidelines wherever you need them.

Evaluation process:
You may choose to ask for preliminary review throughout the project.

When you have completed the project, submit all work in the assignment envelope. Be sure you organize it before you come for acceptance.
- Put the final layout first
- Second, the thumbnail sketches
- Next, any preliminary layouts
- Last, other material you feel should be included

This assignment must be approved by the instructor: You should be present when the work is reviewed.

- See the instructor for approval. If you aren't available during times the instructor is available, make an appointment. (See the schedule posted in the lab, room 2058.)
- If time is available during your lab period, it may be checked then; however, this is not a guaranteed "approval session." Preliminary review is more possible at that time.
- If time is available during the instructor's regular office hours or 4200 critique sessions, it may be checked then; however, this is not a guaranteed "approval session." Preliminary review is more possible at that time.

When Project 1 has been accepted, you'll receive the Project 2 envelope.

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revisions as the situation demands. In other words, the teacher must be willing to change to fit new conditions—whether they are expected or unexpected, immediate or long-term.

Conclusion

Kemp says, "Successful learning will result for the great majority of learners if the instructional program is carefully designed and factors relating to individual learner characteristics are taken into consideration."[6] In fact, Bloom says that "it is possible for 95 percent of our students to learn all that the school has to teach, . . . determined by the student's learning history. . . and the quality of instruction received."[7] He also contends this is not abstract theory, but is observable in classrooms and educational research laboratories throughout the world.[8]

Our students proved they could master course material when given sound instruction and when they chose to take responsibility for learning. As instructors, our responsibility changed. We no longer spend hours grading papers, which only seems to help self-motivated students perform while the other do not improve. We now facilitate learning for all students by clearly defining what we expect, by allowing time for practice, by responding to learning difficulties, and by interacting more with students.

Endnotes

[1] Benjamin S. Bloom, *Human Characteristics and School Learning* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1976), p. ix.

[2] Jerrold E. Kemp, *The Instructional Design Process* (New York: Harper & Row, 1985), p. 14.

[3] Walter Dick and Lou Carey, *The Systematic Design of Instruction* (Glenview, IL: Scott, Foresman & Co., 1985), p. 3.

[4] Kemp, p. 15.

[5] Beth Downs, "Six Classifications of Learner Characteristics," lecture presented at the University of Florida, September 17, 1986.

[6] Kemp, p. 16.

[7] Ibid, p. 16.

[8] Bloom, p. x.

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Tolerance for Television Advertising

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Tolerance for Television Advertising

For decades it was believed that advertising exerted a logical step-by-step effect on individuals. This rational effects process has been illuminated by hierarchical models where exposure to ads precedes knowledge which precedes attitudes which precedes behavior. This perspective is formalized in hierarchical models where a lower level effect must be achieved before a higher order effect is possible. For example, the AIDA model requires attention, interest, and desire before action is possible (DeVoe, 1956). The DAGMAR model outlines the process as one of awareness, comprehension, conviction and action (Colley, 1961).

Krugman (1977) said that hierarchical models such as AIDA or DAGMAR only explain advertising effects when consumers are highly involved in the purchase decision. He argued that consumers are often not strongly involved in the decisions they make so, in many instances, the ads they see are not actively processed and the level of learning is low. Even in this low involvement condition, consumers are influenced by advertising; the hierarchy merely has a different ordering of elements. Krugman argued that in a low involvement situation, consumers form the affect <u>after</u> purchasing and/or experiencing the product so the elements in the hierarchical model are altered to cognition-conation-affect. The key difference with low involvement effects is that advertising leads to learning then behavior without the intermediary of attitude; attitude formation comes after the behavior. Under this model, advertising is processed passively, not actively, and the advertising effects do not follow the seemingly more rational sequence of learning-attitude-behavior.

There is yet a third order of these elements: behavior-attitude-learning which is called a dissonance attribution hierarchy model (Ray, 1973). In this model, consumers first make a choice, then change their attitude to fit that choice. Finally, consumers then search for favorable product attributes and learn those as reasons supporting their choice. This ordering was supported

by Britt (1978) who said "The members of an audience will learn and remember messages that have great affective value to them much more than they will learn and remember messages to which they are emotionally neutral" (p. 240).

In a review of these hierarchical models, Moriarty (1983) posited that all of these models were really covering the same ground, all specifying the influence of advertising at three levels: perception (which includes arousal and retention), education (learning effects) and persuasion (attitude and behavioral effects). She suggested that the hierarchical structure posited by these models did not follow the process of advertising influence. Instead, she argued that all of the so called levels were really areas that "are equally important, interdependent, and often operate simultaneously" (p. 49).

The models reviewed above were developed to explain consumer behavior with regard to purchasing products and services advertised. What if advertising itself were the focus of the investigation? What if the product were advertising in general? This is an important question because it seeks an understanding about how people regard and react to the advertising to which they are constantly exposed. Do they actively process the continuing presence of advertising or do they passively ignore it? Does this presence have an effect on their attitudes which is then linked to the behaviors and perceptions of advertising? Or, are the components of attitudes, behaviors and learning totally independent of one another? The purpose of this study is to provide an answer to these questions.

This study will focus on the phenomenon of television advertising. Television is the most pervasive mass medium. Over 99% of all households have at least one television set with that set on an average of 42 hours per week. Ads interrupt all programs, with the exception of premium pay channels and PBS which allows program sponsorship announcements that appear as ads. Figures on the amount of advertising on television range from about 9 minutes per hour on commercial network prime time broadcasts to 16 for late night independents.

Americans are inundated with advertising and the amount of messages is rapidly increasing. Bogart (1988) pointed out that from 1967 to 1986 the

number of advertising messages in all media more than doubled, with a 257% increase on TV alone. Because of this increased clutter, the rates of recalling ads have dramatically declined. In 1965, when people were called on the telephone and asked to name the last ad they had seen, 18% could name an ad. This figure fell to 12% in 1974 and to 7% in 1981 (Bogart & Lehman, 1983). Krugman (1988) interpreted this trend as being an indication not of reductions in exposure, but of reductions in attention. He pointed out that psychologically people have the ability to expose themselves to all of the telecast messages, to carefully attend to them, and to remember them but that people defend themselves against all the information they will never use by choosing to not attend to it. Krugman further pointed out that this choosing to not attend is done on an overall screening strategy rather than an ad by ad basis. He pointed out that the conscious decision not to attend to a particular ad requires the viewer to watch the ad usually for a minimum of four seconds then to make a decision whether to continue attending to it. As the length of TV ads becomes shorter, viewers must make more rapid decisions, and as the number of ads increases, viewers must make many more decisions. This situation requires a great deal of mental processing from viewers who, more often than not, are watching TV to relax. Therefore, viewers develop general strategies to avoid attending to ads.

Rationale

This study will test three types of models used to explain reactions to television advertising in general. The three types of models are: hierarchical, simultaneous and independent. In the hierarchical model, the components in the processes of influence (learning, attitude and behavior) are arranged in a ladder fashion. Here, people on higher rungs of the ladder must demonstrate evidence of the components on all lower rungs. So, for example, someone with a negative behavior about TV advertising should also exhibit evidence of negative attitudes and negative perceptions of advertising where attitudes and perceptions are regarded as lower components in the hierarchical

structure. There is more than one order of components in the hierarchy. The rational models of AIDA and DAGMAR follow the sequence: perceptions, attitudes, and behaviors. Krugman suggested that under a low involvement situation, the order is perception, behavior, and attitude. And Ray argued that the hierarchical order should be behavior-attitude-learning. So, the three hierarchical models are as follows:

(1) the rational models of AIDA and DAGMAR or learning-attitude-behavior

(2) Krugman's low involvement model of learning-behavior-attitude, and

(3) Ray's dissonance-attribution model of behavior-attitude-learning.

The test for hierarchical models involves assessing asymmetrical relationships, i.e., people on a higher rung must be related to the condition of being on a lower rung, with the opposite not true.

The simultaneous model, as suggested by Moriarty, is one where processing in several areas is going on at the same time. While people are learning about advertising, they are also forming an attitude and exhibiting behaviors. The test for this model involves intercorrelations, i.e., factual knowledge, attitudes and behaviors should all be related.

The independent model is one where the processes are regarded as separate. This model allows for people to formulate attitudes even though they do not have knowledge about something, and they can exhibit behavior with no attitude or with an inconsistent attitude. Evidence of this model is a non-correlation among learning, attitudes and behaviors.

When looking at advertising in general, the concepts of learned information, attitudes and behaviors must be translated into more general terms. For this study, learning does not refer to factual information about products or services but instead to factual information about advertising itself. This was operationalized as estimates of the amount of advertising on television, i.e., the number of breaks, the number of ads per break and the length of ads.

Attitudes here dealt with television advertising in general. People with positive attitudes about television advertising feel that ads provide

valuable information and are interesting. In contrast, people with negative attitudes feel that the ads are annoying, interfering and a waste of time. Attitudes toward advertising can also be reflected in how many minutes of advertising per hour viewers are willing to tolerate. Those who say they will tolerate none or very few ads have a negative attitude.

The behavioral measure is how often people pay attention to the ads when they come on the screen.

Methodology

Data Collection

Telephone interviews were conducted with adults residing in a medium sized midwestern county which housed a state university. Numbers were selected from the area's most recent telephone directory. Interviewers were instructed to ask for the adult in the household who most recently had a birthday; callbacks were made if the identified individual was not at home. The "most recent birthday" procedure was employed to reduce respondent selection biases often associated with telephone interviews. Students living in off-campus residences were not excluded from the study; their perceptions and behaviors were viewed to be as legitimate as those held by young adults not attending college. Interviewers were undergraduates at a large state supported university. They were paid for their efforts; each was trained for the specifics of this task. All interviews were conducted from a central location under the supervision of the authors. Interviews took, on average, nearly 15 minutes to complete.

Sample

Survey data were gathered from 545 individuals. A slight majority (54%) of those who completed the survey were female. Nearly half (42%) were married; 32% said they had at least one child in the household. Almost everyone (94%) was white. The average age of these respondents was 37.7; 22% were over 50. Nearly half (47%) said their annual household income fell between $15,000 and $49,999; 16% said this was at least $50,000. On average,

respondents claimed to watch 2.9 hours of television on weekdays and 3.2 hours on Sundays. Most (64%) had cable, with 34% saying they subscribed to at least one pay channel. The demography of the sample suggests that the sample was broad-based and reflective of broader populations.

Survey Instrument

The survey itself consisted of a battery of questions that measured respondents' estimates about the amount of advertising on television, attitudes about television advertising, and viewing behaviors. In addition, the survey gathered demographic and psychographic information about each respondent.

Four questions measured respondent estimates of the amount of advertising on television. First, respondents were asked to estimate the number of minutes of advertising each hour on the networks during prime time. Then, respondents were asked to estimate the number of different times per hour network shows aired during prime time get interrupted for ads. Following this, they were asked to estimate the number of different ads aired during an average break during prime time network programs. And, finally, respondents were asked to estimate in seconds the length of the average ad.

There were two measures of attitudes about advertising. The first was a scale constructed around reactions to five items about television commercials. Using a zero to 10 intensity scale where zero meant no agreement and 10 meant total agreement, respondents reacted to the following five statements: (1) Commercials provide valuable information, (2) Commercial interfere with your enjoyment of the program you're watching, (3) They annoy you, (3) They're interesting, and (5) They're a waste of your time. In the analysis, the polarity of responses for the negatively worded items was reversed so that a high score represented a very positive attitude toward TV advertisements. Responses to these items were summed and then divided by five so that the resulting index reflected the metric of the individual items. Cronbach's alpha for the resulting additive scale was .77. The second attitude measure related to advertising tolerance. This was assessed by asking respondents to

provide a maximum number of ad minutes they would be prepared to tolerate during an average hour of television viewing.

There were two behavioral measures. First, respondents were asked to indicate how often they paid attention to ads when they were alone and when they were with others. For each, answer choices were (1) always, (2) most of the time, (3) some of the time and (4) just about never. The intercorrelation between responses on those two items was relatively strong ($r = .47$, $p < .01$). In the analyses, responses to these two items were combined so that a maximum score of 8 indicated very low degree of attention to ads. The second behavioral measure was a scale of weekly television viewing. This was constructed from answers to two questions: "On the average weekday, how many hours do you spend watching television?" and "On the average Sunday, about how many hours do you spend watching television?" For the scale, weekday scores were multiplied by five with the Sunday score multiplied by two.

Demographic measures included marital status, number of adults in household, yearly household income, gender and age. Psychographic measures included a battery of 12 lifestyle type items, such as "I tend to do things on the spur of the moment," and "I am very careful about scheduling my time." Respondents reacted to these 12 items by using a zero to 10 point scale where zero meant no agreement with the item and 10 complete agreement.

Results

Properties of the Major Variables

All of the variables exhibited wide variation of responses, with most fairly close to normal distributions (see Table 1). On the estimates, there was a wide range of responses. On minutes of advertising per hour the range was from one minute to 60 minutes; on pods per hour, one to 20; ads per pod, one through 12; and seconds per average ad, one to 70. Responses to the tolerance measure ranged from zero to 30 minutes. For that measure, the median was 8.6 minutes, the mode 10 minutes, and the mean 8.6. Despite a long skew toward the higher estimates, only 4.7% of these respondents said they had

a tolerance level higher than 15 minutes per hour. Respondents said they rarely paid as much attention to ads as they did to programs. With four equalling just about never paying as much attention to the ads, scores on the individual avoidance items averaged 3.25 and 3.55 (when watching television alone and with others, respectively).

It is important to note that the alternative measures developed for each of the three concepts (perceptions, attitudes and behaviors) should not be regarded as substitutes for one another. For example, the intercorrelations among the four perception measures were very weak, ranging in magnitude from .00 to .16, with several items negatively related to each other (see Table 2). The same lack of interrelationship was found within the sets of attitudinal and behavioral measures. The two attitude measures were only weakly related ($r = .18$, $p < .01$) with the two behavioral measures unrelated ($r = .02$). It is not possible, then, to summarize the information contained in these measures into three superordinate scales of perception, attitude and behavior. These nine measures must be examined as separate entities.

Test for a Simultaneous Model

There was very little support for a simultaneous model (see Table 2). The relationships between the measures of perceptions and the attitudinal measures ranged from .00 to .29 with a median correlation coefficient of about .07. The only significant relationship recorded was between the estimate of ad minutes per hour and tolerance for advertising ($r = .29$, $p < .01$). Respondents who gave higher estimates for the number of minutes of ads per hour also tended to give higher levels of ad tolerance (i.e., they were willing to tolerate more ads per hour than those offering lower estimates).

The relationships between perceptions and behaviors were even weaker, ranging in magnitude from .01 to .14 with a median correlation coefficient of about .05. The strongest relationships (only in a relative sense) were between the amount of television viewing and estimates of ads per pod ($r = .14$, $p < .01$) and estimates of length of an average ad ($r = .11$, $p < .01$).

Relationships between attitudes and behaviors exhibited the widest range

in magnitude, going from .02 to .45. The strongest relationship was between general attitude about television advertising and avoidance behavior ($r = .45$, $p < .01$). Respondents with the most negative attitudes were the least likely to attend to ads either when alone or with others. There was no combination of three measures (one perceptual, one attitudinal, and one behavioral) where there were correlation coefficients among them strong enough in magnitude to be statistically significant. The best set of three was general attitude with audience behavior ($r = .45$, $p < .01$), general attitude with estimated number of advertising minutes per hour ($r = .09$, $p < .05$), and avoidance behavior with estimates of the number of ad minutes per hour ($r = -.07$, n.s.).

Test for hierarchical models

The pattern of asymmetric uncertainty coefficients suggests that perceptions precede behavior (at least the viewing measure) which precedes attitudes (see Figure 1). The asymmetric uncertainty coefficients between perceptions of ad minutes and the behavior of weekly television viewing illustrates this. When the perception measure was dependent, the coefficient was larger (.24) than when the behavioral measure was dependent (.15). This suggests one can more accurately predict estimates of ad minutes per hour based on amount of TV viewing than predict amount of TV viewing based on estimates of ad minutes per hour. (Of course, with small coefficients [i.e., .24], such predictions would not have absolute certainty.) So, the direction of the stronger prediction is opposite to the ascendancy of the hierarchy. That is, if someone is on a high rung of a ladder, one would know with relative certainty that the individual had also been on the lower rung. But if someone is on a lower rung, one would not be certain about movement to the next higher rung.

Figure 1 can be interpreted to show that the order of the hierarchy is learning-behavior-attitude. With the behavior measure of weekly viewing, the asymmetric coefficients were consistently stronger with the learning variables dependent. The other behavior measure, however, did not exhibit the same pattern. There, the asymmetric coefficients were all very small, with the

absence of a differential pattern indicating that the relationships were not asymmetric. General attitude showed an asymmetrical pattern with both the avoidance behaviors. But the attitudinal measure of tolerance level displayed a pattern where it appeared dependent on weekly viewing behavior rather than the converse. This conflicting pattern (along with the relatively small size of the coefficients) presented a problem for a clear interpretation in favor of Krugman's model of low involvement.

An additional step in the analysis was attempted to clarify the hierarchical interpretation of the relationships. Respondents were divided (as much as possible) into three equal groups with the pattern of high scores the focus of the analysis (see Figure 2). This can be illustrated with the relationship between the estimate of the number of pods per hour with the weekly viewing behavioral measure. Of those respondents classified as heavy viewers, 37.0% also were classified as having a high estimate of the number of pods per hour. In contrast, of those respondents who had high estimates of the number of pods per hour, 24.5% also were heavy viewers. When looking at the pattern of percentages in Figure 2, the same results were apparent, i.e., weak evidence of non-symmetry. The largest difference in percentages was only 15.2.

Thus far, it seems reasonable to conclude that there was no support for any hierarchical model, nor was there support for a simultaneous model. Before concluding, though, that these concepts were independent of one another in the minds of respondents, it is necessary to dispense with an alternative explanation: the numbers generated in this study were really random. That is, the data might merely reflect error, rather than a conclusion of independence. There was no direct way to test the degree of error in these data, but there was a test that would provide indirect evidence that could discredit the error explanation. If it could be demonstrated that there were patterns across subgroups of respondents, then the random data argument would be weakened. Respondents were divided into three equal sized groups depending on their responses to each of the central variables (four learning, two behavior and

two attitudinal). Then, differences in demographics and psychographics across those groups were assessed. For example, on minutes per hour, respondents were divided into high estimate, medium estimate and low estimate groups. Then, the demographic profiles were computed for each group using five variables: age, household income, gender, marital status and number of children in household. The eight measures comparing five demographics provided 40 tests of differences of which 25 were statistically significance, a rate far beyond chance alone. For example, respondents who exhibited the lowest tolerance of television advertising tended to be older, female and married. And, those who exhibited the most avoidant behaviors when ads were on were older males in higher income households. Thus, there are patterns in the data; the data were not totally random. However, no compelling patterns among the three groups of variables of learning, attitudes and behaviors were observed.

Discussion

The major finding of this study was that people exhibited a wide range of attitudes and behaviors concerning advertising on television. They also had wide-ranging estimates about the amount of advertising actually presented on the air. These findings were not surprising. What was surprising though was that estimates, attitudes, and behaviors were not interrelated in an strong or consistent manner. In fact, in this study, the intercorrelations were consistently weak, leaving a dominant interpretation of independence among concepts. For example, people who said they had a very low tolerance for television advertising were no less likely to watch TV or more likely to engage in ad avoidance behaviors when watching than were people who said they had a high tolerance for ads. And, people who said they always avoided ads on television were no more likely to give an accurate estimate (or overestimate) of the amount of those ads than were people who said they never avoided ads.

Weak intercorrelations among measures within concepts was interpreted as meaning that the concepts themselves were multi-faceted. For example, within

the perception concept, television viewers who thought there were many breaks for commercials per hour did not necessarily think there also were a high number of minutes of ads per hour. Similarly, within the concept of attitudes, having a very negative attitude about ads was not strongly related with having a low tolerance for ads. Some people with positive attitudes about ads were willing to tolerate only a few minutes of advertising per hour; others with very negative attitudes said they were willing to tolerate many ad minutes per hour.

The lack of interrelationships among the measures was very surprising. Fearing a reactivity of measures problem, we expected the correlations to be spuriously high. We thought some of our questions would be difficult for some respondents to answer so they would construct answers to be consistent with earlier responses they provided. For example, if someone said she had a low tolerance for television advertising and said she would always try to avoid ads when they interrupted her program, we would expect her to provide a high estimate of the number of ads on television. That would be consistent would logic. Even if she did not know how many ads were broadcast, we would expect her to strive for consistency in the interview situation. If we had found relatively high intercorrelations, we would not be able to tell the extent to which they reflected a true relationships and to what extent they were determined by the demand situation of the interview. Since evidence of relationships was found, it seems reasonable to conclude that respondents did not construct answers so as to be consistent (at least according to expectations); the results did not appear to be spurious. Apparently, respondents did not see a relationship among perceptions, behaviors and attitudes about television advertising. Even when they are asked about all three in a short interview situation, they felt no inclination to be consistent with their responses across these concepts.

Perhaps the strongest finding of this study is that Krugman may have underestimated the low degree of involvement associated with television advertising. His structure for a hierarchical model was the best among the

alternatives tested, but even it was too formalized a structure to explain the essentially unconnected structure of reactions to television advertising in general. Apparently, viewers have developed the ability to avoid absorbing information even when it is constant and pervasive. And their involvement appears so low that they may not use information as a basis of their attitudes or attitudes as a basis for behavior.

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Table 1
Properties of Major Variables

Estimates	Mean	S.D.	Median	Mode	Skew	Kurtosis
Ad Minutes Per Hour	15.75	5.61	15.0	15.0	.46	.68
Pods per Hour	6.06	2.95	5.0	5.0	2.34	6.73
Ads per Pod	4.83	2.24	4.0	4.0	1.56	1.92
Seconds per ad	39.94	17.52	30.0	30.0	.27	-.96
Attitudes						
Interfere w/enjoyment	4.51	2.42	5.0	5.0	-.01	-.37
Annoying	3.90	3.09	4.0	0.0	.34	-.83
Waste of Time	4.64	3.01	5.0	5.0	.06	-.86
Interesting	3.33	2.90	3.0	0.0	.65	-.40
Valuable	4.46	2.44	5.0	5.0	.11	-.07
Index: ATTAD	4.17	1.98	4.2	5.6	.13	-.05
Tolerance	8.62	4.93	8.0	10.0	.94	1.46
Behaviors						
Watching Alone	3.25	.81	3.0	4.0	-.96	.48
Watching w/Others	3.55	.64	4.0	4.0	-1.32	1.51
ADAVOID	6.79	1.24	7.0	8.0	-1.07	1.03
Weekly Viewing	21.01	10.57	19.0	18.0	.25	-.77

Table 2

Test for Simultaneous and Independent Models: Interrelationships among Perceptions, Attitudes and Behaviors

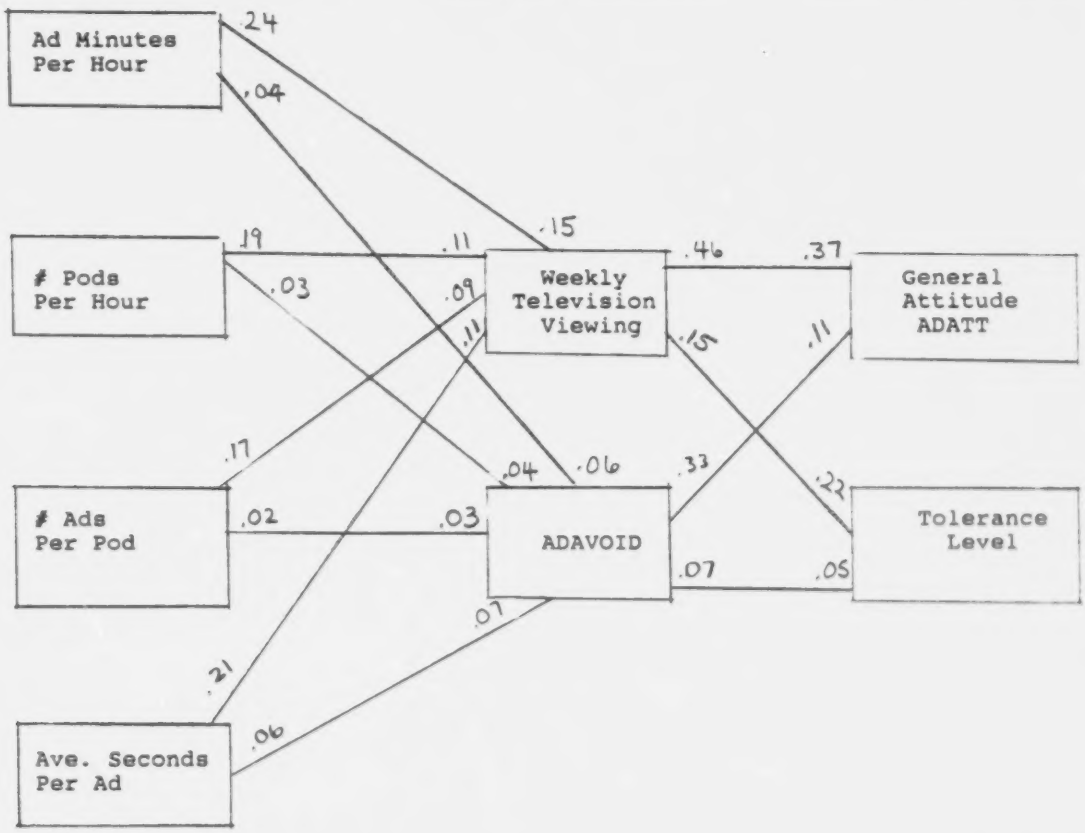
	Perceptions				Attitudes		Behaviors
Perceptions	1	2	3	4	1	2	1
1 Minutes/Hour	---						
2 Pods/Hour	.112**						
3 Ads/Pod	.115**	.163**					
4 Ad Length	-.005	-.073	-.053				
Attitudes							
1 General Att	.091*	.020	.079	-.003			
2 Tolerance	.286**	.109*	.063	-.015	.181**		
Behaviors							
1 TV viewing	.005	.013	.142**	.114**	.099*	.064	
2 Avoidance	-.073	.027	.053	.050	.453**	-.146**	.022
	1	2	3	4	1	2	1
	Perceptions				Attitudes		Behaviors

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

Figure 1

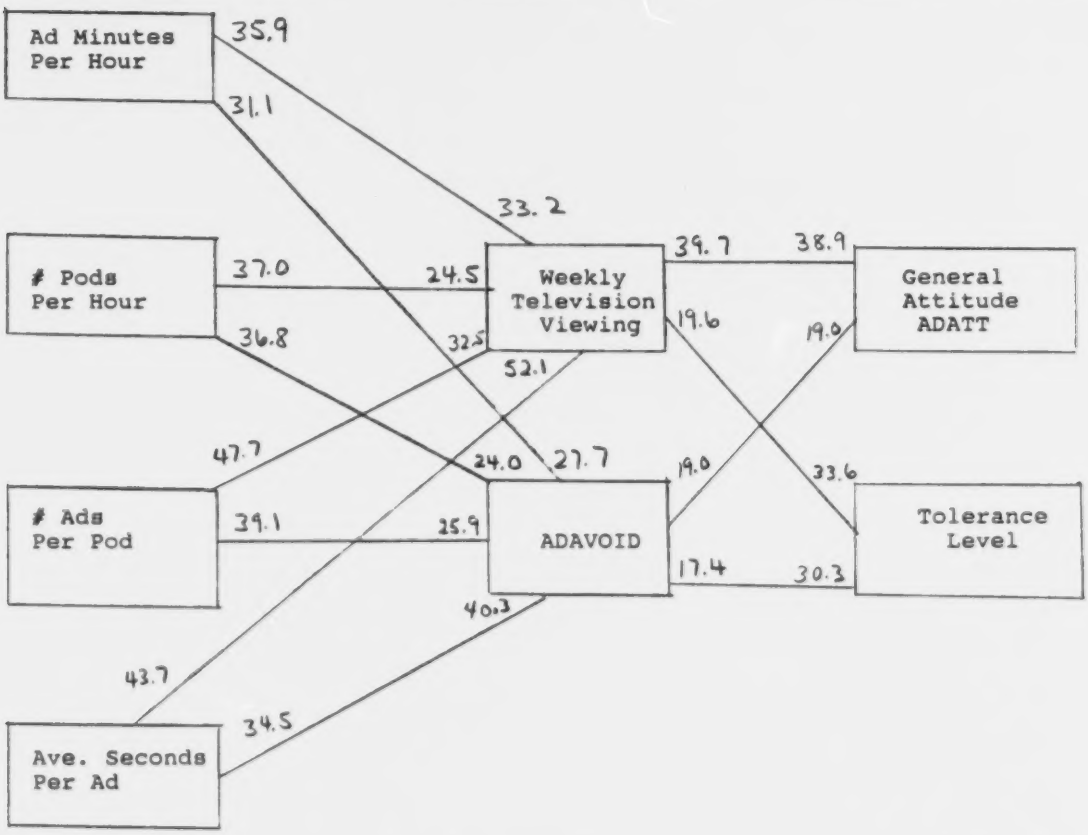
Asymmetrical relationships among measures of the three concepts of perception, behavior and attitude



The numbers on the lines are asymmetric uncertainty coefficients.

Figure 2

Hierarchical patterns among the concepts of perception, behavior and attitude



Numbers on the lines are percentages.

"Quenching the Thirst for Personal Information: Advertising Practices vs. Consumer Privacy"

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ABSTRACT

Technological advancements, economic pressures, and increased demands for advertising accountability have increased advertisers' dependence on consumer information. Advertisers' reliance on this often personal information, however, has also generated a number of consumer privacy concerns. This paper responds to the need for increased academic attention on this topic by: 1) overviewing definitions of privacy; 2) examining the various ways data gathering and use impacts consumers' privacy; and 3) reviews the primary means available for balancing advertisers' needs with consumers' privacy concerns. This paper concludes that improved professional self-regulation and higher ethical standards are the best ways to deal with the issues involved.

"Quenching the Thirst for Personal Information: Advertising Practices vs. Consumer Privacy"

INTRODUCTION

Technological developments, economic pressures, and increased demands for accountability have led to profound changes in marketing and advertising practices. At an industry level, total expenditures on targeted advertising media, such as direct mail, direct response, and telemarketing, now exceeds combined magazine, radio, and network television spending (Smolowe 1990). Similarly, an increasing number of marketèrs and advertisers have replaced traditional mass merchandising and mass communication models with highly targeted, individual consumer-oriented approaches, such as "micro-marketing" (Plume 1990; Rapp and Collins 1990), "relationship marketing" (Goldberg 1988; Blattberg 1990), "tailored advertising" (Podems 1988), and "consumer-initiated advertising" (Walley 1989). Thanks to computerization, advertisers employing these approaches can access and address consumers using "tens of billions" of individual consumer attributes (Stevenson 1988).

Along with "maximizing" advertising effectiveness, however, advertisers' increased use of detailed consumer profiles, computerized databases, and personalized persuasive messages has raised a number of concerns regarding consumers' personal privacy. A recent national survey not only found 80% of the respondents were concerned about threats to their personal privacy, but that 70% believed "consumers had lost all control over how personal information about them is circulated and used by companies" (Equifax 1990). This concern has also manifested itself in recent consumer actions. Lotus Development Corporation's MarketPlace Households, a database software package containing address and demographic information on 80 million U.S. households, was taken off the market as a result of 30,000 consumer complaints (Radding 1991). Similarly, consumer complaints prompted New York Telephone and New

England Telephone to drop plans to market a computerized version of their customer lists. Over 800,000 of New York Telephone's 6.3 million customers requested their names be removed from the list, along with about 400,000 of New England Telephone's 4.7 million customers (Radding 1991).

Despite consumer concern over marketing and advertising uses of personal consumer information, most of the academic research so far has focused on: a) the results of public opinion polls regarding general privacy issues; or b) the moral, ethical, and far-reaching societal ramifications of personal information collection and privacy. In the case of the former, Vidmar and Flaherty's (1985) survey of 210 Canadian consumers found most believed that many organizations, including government and law enforcement agencies, collected more personal information than was necessary. The marketing practices of most concern to these consumers included: the exchange of credit information by businesses, the compilation of magazine subscription data, and disclosure of income information. Among U.S. consumers, Dutton and Meadow's (1987) review of public opinion surveys involving privacy showed consumer concern regarding privacy invasions had remained relatively stable from 1974 to 1987. More recently, however, a similar undertaking by Katz and Tassone (1990) found that privacy concerns have indeed risen. Their review suggested the percentage of Americans "very concerned" about privacy increased from about 30% in 1978 to 45% in 1989.

Most of the discussions regarding the societal implications of privacy, though, have only touched on marketing and advertising practices. Gandy and Simmons (1986), in reviewing the various ways personal information is used, argued that the audience and message segmentation practices of market researchers and political consultants threatened the "very foundations of participatory democracy." Adopting a similar critical perspective, Fortner (1986) concluded that privacy issues, regardless of the realm, should be examined using moral, rather than legal or economic, values. According to this view, the protection of personal privacy, including consumer privacy, would be equivalent to the protection of human dignity. Finally, Salvaggio (1989), after reviewing the various ways privacy can be invaded in an information-based

society, suggested that personal privacy is often sacrificed for more valued commodities, such as profits, efficiency, or productivity. This led him to conclude that privacy was a social problem that will be extremely difficult to solve.

PURPOSE OF PAPER

Unlike mass communication scholars, academic advertising researchers and educators have yet to extensively address or examine consumer privacy issues, much less solutions. This is somewhat surprising for a number a reasons. First, much of the growing concern over personal privacy invasions can be traced to marketing and advertising practices. Not only have data-driven marketing methods such as direct marketing and direct response advertising grown in importance, but brand and packaged-goods advertisers are also assembling databases, developing highly-detailed customer profiles, and tracking consumers' purchase habits (Shepard and Associates 1990; Schultz 1989; Caminiti 1990). Kimberly-Clark, for instance, uses databases to send new mothers coupons for Huggies diapers, as well as to follow up with coupons for larger size diapers as the child matures (Coleman 1991). Second, even direct marketing educators have called for examinations of privacy issues. Schultz (1990), in pointing out that consumer concerns are not likely to go away, labelled privacy a "crucial issue that requires an even greater research effort than we have today." Finally, relatively little is known about how knowledgeable and/or concerned consumers really are about information-intensive marketing and advertising practices. As Katz and Tassone (1990) noted, the people most concerned about privacy are unlikely to participate in privacy studies. As a result, true public sentiment about privacy issues is likely to be under, rather than over, stated.

This paper thus attempts to respond to the above concerns, and the virtual absence of academic advertising discussion and research, by examining: 1) definitions of privacy; 2) the major privacy ramifications of gathering and using consumer information; and 3) the legal, professional, and ethical options available to advertisers. By examining these areas, this paper should accomplish two objectives. One, it should draw advertising educators' attention to the privacy implications of increasingly common marketing and advertising practices. Two, by

defining and delineating the most important aspects of consumer privacy, it should facilitate research efforts in this area.

PRIVACY DEFINED

One of the greatest hurdles facing advertising educators and researchers when it comes to examining consumer privacy issues is defining what privacy is and what it entails. Given the concept's relatively abstract nature, definitions of privacy, regardless of the realm, can revolve around, or include, a number of dimensions, including individual autonomy, personal space, solitude, intimacy, and anonymity (Regan 1986).

Most legal and social attempts to define privacy, however, appear to center around two key notions: 1) the "right" to be left alone; and 2) personal control over information. The first notion, in fact, dates back to Warren and Brandeis, who in 1890 defined privacy as "the right to be left alone." More recent definitions, however, have focused on the second aspect. Westin's (1967) seminal definition, for example, defined privacy as "the claim of individuals, groups or institutions to determine for themselves when, how and to what extent information about them is communicated to others." Westin's definition, in turn, has provided the conceptual framework for most of the privacy legislation enacted by the U.S. Congress, including the Privacy Act of 1974, the Fair Credit Reporting Act, and the Family Education Rights and Privacy Act (Regan 1986).

Societal and technological changes since 1967, however, have dated Westin's definition, particularly with respect to advertisers' collection and use of widely-distributed and easily-accessible consumer information. As Turn (1985) noted:

> In the modern world, it is not feasible to implement privacy as the "right to be left alone" or as the right to unilaterally control information about oneself. Individuals must surrender personal information to receive services or benefits and for society to protect its members against each other. However, society must also protect its members against the excesses of record keepers and the use of erroneous or irrelevant information in making decisions.

According to Turn, a more appropriate definition of privacy, at least with respect to consumers, is: "Privacy refers to the rights of individuals regarding the collection, storage,

processing, dissemination and use of personal information about them." Turn's definition thus provides a useful starting point for advertising educators and researchers examining privacy issues related to the gathering and use of consumer information. First, by acknowledging that consumers do have rights regarding personal information, the definition highlights the fact that a balance must be found between consumers' right to privacy and advertisers' need for consumer information. While Turn doesn't specify what these rights are, their recognition reiterates the need for conceptual and empirical work defining and delineating what those rights may be. Second, the definition is useful because it specifies the many stages through which consumer information passes, and recognizes that each stage likely has unique privacy implications. In the case of advertising, for instance, many of the most pressing consumer privacy concerns revolve around the first and last stages: the initial gathering of data and its subsequent use.

DATA GATHERING AND CONSUMER PRIVACY

Marketers and advertisers not only use a variety of methods to gather information on consumers, but the methods they employ vary greatly in terms of conspicuousness and obtrusiveness. As Table 1 illustrates, the methods used to gather data fall into at least five general categories. Consumers' awareness of the specific data-gathering method being

INSERT TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE

employed, in turn, typically falls into one of three categories: a) full knowledge of data collection and data use; b) knowledge of collection but not of use; and c) ignorance of both collection and use. If a data-collection method is readily visible (e.g., grocery store scanning), requires active or voluntary consumer participation/cooperation (e.g., frequent buyer programs), or a priori consumer consent (e.g., surveys), then it is assumed that consumers know personal information about them was collected. As long as consumers are aware of all subsequent uses of that information, there is relatively little concern over privacy. In most

cases, for instance, consumers willingly supply the personal information in expectation of future benefits, such as premiums, gifts, product information, or reduced prices. In other cases, consumers may not want to provide personal information, but privacy concerns are arguably reduced by knowledge of the information's collection, storage, and likely uses.

As Table 1 shows, the more direct threats to consumer privacy occur in columns 2 and 3. Here, personal information is gathered either: a) with the knowledge or active consent of the consumer, and then used in ways the consumer has little or no knowledge of; or b) without the consumer's knowledge or consent and without the individual consumer knowing how the information is being used. In the case of the former, the most common occurrences involve: subscribing to magazines and other publications; returning or sending materials, such as warranty cards, premium offerings, or membership forms, directly to an advertiser; or participating in surveys, studies, and research undertakings, such as completing the U.S. Census questionnaire. In each case, consumers are generally aware they are providing marketers or advertisers with personal information. Respondents also have a relatively good sense of why they are providing the information (i.e., they know the primary purpose of the form). The threats to personal privacy arise, however, when respondents are unaware of the many ways this information will be used. Thus, a magazine subscriber's privacy is threatened (i.e., invaded or reduced) if s/he is not aware their name and other personal information about them will be rented to other advertisers; a new product owner's privacy is threatened if they don't know the personal information requested on a warranty form will be rented to other companies; and a citizen who returns a census questionnaire suffers an invasion of privacy when census information at a household level is made publicly available.

The greatest threats to consumer privacy, however, involve situations where consumers lack knowledge of both the collection and the use. These situations typically occur when completely surreptitious data-collection methods, such as surveillance cameras, telephone number identification systems, or electronically recorded financial transactions information, are used. Overall, as Table 1 shows, marketers and advertisers employ relatively few

completely surreptitious data-collection methods. First, as discussed above, consumers typically know when they have provided personal information; it's often the secondary uses of that information that are unknown. Second, covert data-gathering methods often fail to provide precise, or even complete, information. Surveillance cameras, for instance, provide fairly accurate depictions of consumer behaviors, but relatively imprecise demographic or lifestyle information. Automatic phone number identification systems provide relatively precise household level information, but provide rather limited individual-level information. Similarly, public records, auto registration, and other list-based information are more accurate at the aggregate than individual level.

There are, however, at least two important ways in which advertisers' gathering of data can threaten, or reduce, consumers' privacy. First, consumer privacy is affected by both the amount and type of information gathered. As Westin observed in 1967, every time a consumer uses a credit card, makes a bank withdrawal, borrows a book from a library, or makes a telephone call, they leave "documentary fingerprints and footprints behind them." Since Westin's observation, computers, electronic financial transaction systems (e.g., automatic tellers), and supermarket scanners have increased the number of prints that can be detected as well as the level of detail (Fortner 1986). Equifax's consumer marketing database, for instance, provides advertisers with the names of nearly 100 million consumers, along with as many as 340 pieces of information about each of them, including age, marital status, history of moves, and credit card activity (Rapp and Collins 1990). One of Equifax's competitors, Donnelley Marketing, uses a database containing the buying habits of 80 million U.S. household to profile neighborhoods by consumer behavior (Smolowe 1990). In similar fashion, Citicorp POS, a subsidiary of Citicorp, is combining shopping and household data with the financial information it gathers as a bank and credit card issuer. The company currently has amassed data on 2 million U.S. households, but expects to have more than 40 million households in the database by 1995 (Taff 1991). Thus, the amount and type of information collected and distributed by firms such as Equifax, Donnelley, and Citicorp reduces or threatens consumers'

privacy by providing marketers and advertisers more intimate and detailed consumer profiles than heretofore existed.

Just as significant as the growth in data-collection, at least in terms of real or potential threats to consumer privacy, is where the growth is occurring. Most of the growth involves marketing practices where data-collection and/or secondary uses of personal information are not known to consumers (i.e., columns 2 and 3 of Table 1). A number of examples exist. Federal, state, and local governments, for instance, are making more of the personal and household information they collect available to marketers and advertisers. The use of this information by marketers and advertisers, however, is often quite distant from the reasons or contexts in which the information was collected in the first place. Thus, every time a consumer participates in the U.S. Census, registers an automobile, applies for a marriage license, or complies with a governmental request, the chances are fairly good the information will later be used, without the individual's knowledge or consent, by marketers and advertisers. At the federal level, for example, advertisers will be able to use the Census Bureau's new Topologically Integrated Geographic Encoding and Referencing system (TIGER) to obtain race, income, marital status, and home ownership information at the ***individual household***, rather than block, ***level*** . At the state level, open records laws often require states to provide advertisers, at cost, information obtained from vehicle registration, license applications, and other public records. According to the Milwaukee Journal (December 17, 1990), "more than 100 companies, marketing everything from insurance and cars to snowmobiles and condominiums" purchased personal information about residents from the state of Wisconsin in 1989. One company, JHL Mail Marketing Inc. bought a computer file listing the name, date of birth, address, and gender of the state's 4.5 million licensed driver and identification cardholders to create a list of 1,000 potential customers in their 40s for a men's clothing store (Milwaukee Journal, December 17, 1990).

A second threat, surreptitious collection and use of personal and household information, has also increased thanks to expanded availability of automatic telephone number identification

systems (ANI systems). Using a computer match-up with a customer list, telephone directory, or some other database, advertisers can use phone number identification systems to retrieve and display not only the phone caller's name and address, but a wide range of other information, including income, credit history, and marital status-- all without the caller's consent or knowledge (Carnevale and Lopez 1989; Husted 1991; Van 1990; Toth 1990). Some systems, such as MCI's Caller Profile, provide advertisers with a monthly report, on magnetic tape, of the people who have called them. These reports include a wide variety of personal information, including an estimate of the person's annual household income (Husted 1991). While publicity over the availability of Caller ID, a recently available residential system, has increased public awareness of telephone number identification systems, relatively few consumers are aware of advertisers' extensive reliance on such sophisticated systems (Toth 1990). Since companies rarely disclose they are using such systems (often to avoid raising privacy concerns), few consumers know that almost every 800 (and many 900) telephone number is tied into an ANI system (Carnevale and Lopez 1989; Husted 1990). The end result of call-tracing systems, from a privacy perspective, is that consumers making a phone call from home typically have no way, short of using a pay phone, to preserve their anonymity or impede the amount of information collected about them.

INFORMATION USE AND CONSUMER PRIVACY

While an examination of the various ways advertisers gather consumer data reveals a number of potentially important privacy issues, such an assessment is also incomplete. Rather, the privacy implications of data collection, as well as the significance of those implications, are often contingent on both the information itself and how it is used. As Table 2 shows, privacy issues and considerations generally revolve around three major sets of factors: 1) type of advertiser; 2) level of information specificity or detail; and 3) information use or application.

INSERT TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE

The first two factors, type of advertiser and information specificity, are often interrelated. Historically, direct marketers, such as catalogers and direct mailers, have tracked, recorded, acquired, and stored as much demographic, geographic, and purchase information as possible about their customers (Stone 1988; Nash 1986). This information is used in almost every aspect of a direct marketing or direct mail campaign, including: a) selecting potential prospects; b) making mail list and/or media selections; c) writing and personalizing advertising copy; and d) assessing the effectiveness of a campaign. In the process, direct marketers make extensive use of public databases, proprietary databases, and in-house customer files. Farm Journal, which claims to have the most complete database on U.S. farmers, uses that information to print up to 9,000 different (i.e., individualized) versions of a single issue (PR Reporter, Feb. 25, 1991). Conversely, "general" advertisers (i.e., brand and packaged-goods advertisers) have traditionally relied on relatively broad geographic (e.g., East Coast, Mid-West), demographic (e.g., 25-to-44 year old females), or psychographic (e.g., values and attitudes) information to guide their media and message strategies. The privacy issues and concerns arise, however, when direct marketers use of personal information becomes too extensive or when the consumer information used by general advertisers becomes too specific (i.e., personal).

Two concurrent developments have fueled the use of consumer information, and, in the process, increased the amount of attention paid to consumer privacy. First, the direct marketing industry, on a whole, has experienced rapid growth. Not only does the dollar value of directly sold merchandise annually exceed $150 billion, but 1989 marked the first year that more than half of American adults (51.4%, or around 92 million) purchased merchandise directly by phone or mail (Pring 1990). Since direct marketers' marketing and advertising decisions revolve around market data and purchase behaviors, consumers' interest in directly sold merchandise has spawned a number of the privacy concerns. Consumer concerns over the availability and accessibility of credit and financial information have arisen, in part, because

direct marketers aggressively collect, trade, and rent information on the finances, credit histories, and spending habits of consumers (Smolowe 1990). Similarly, concerns over the availability of detailed consumer profiles have been fostered by advances in mailing list and computer technology. Thanks to computers, direct marketers and mailers can produce highly-specialized consumer lists by merging and cross-indexing a wealth of public, proprietary, and in-house databases. Standard Rate and Data Service's "Guide to Consumer Mailing Lists," for example, contains the descriptions of around 10,000 such lists that can be used for such purposes.

A second development, also related to consumer interest in direct marketing, is the increased use of direct and database marketing techniques by brand and packaged-goods advertisers (Schultz 1989). As Rueff (1991) recently noted, an increasing number of advertisers have learned that consumer attitudes and behaviors are rarely demographically driven or even demographically related. Thus, instead of continuing to rely on relatively broad demographic and geographic segmentation information, many advertisers are discovering that communication effectiveness and efficiency improves as the amount of consumer information increases. Porsche Cars North America, for instance, spent eight months and $250,000 narrowing down a universe of 80-million car-owning households to 300,000 carefully screened affluent prospects, who were then invited by mail to take a test drive (Rapp and Collins 1990). Similarly, the Ohio Lottery used a direct mail coupon to build a database of lottery players. One purpose of the database is to help the Lottery design advertising that will get higher-income players to spend more money (Teinowitz 1990).

Regardless of whether consumer information is gathered by a direct marketer or a "general" advertiser, the primary determinants of whether, and how, consumer privacy is threatened are: 1) the level of specificity of information; and 2) the end use of the information. The first determinant, specificity, encompasses the preciseness as well as the traceability of the information. In the case of the former, the more precise or detailed the information, the greater the threat that is posed to consumer privacy. Specific age, income, and activity

information, for example, is far more personally revealing than broad categorical estimates. Similarly, in the case of the latter, privacy concerns and invasions are directly related to the ability to trace information to a given individual; as that ability increases, so do threats to personal privacy. Overall, database marketing and other information-intensive advertising practices thus present the greatest potential threats to consumer privacy (see Table 2).

The second determinant, the end use of the personal information, helps specify how, or in what ways, consumer privacy is threatened. As Table 2 shows, advertisers can use consumer information in three major ways: 1) for market and audience segmentation and/or profiling; 2) to shape or personalize persuasive messages; or 3) for financial gain (by selling or renting the information). Each of these applications have fairly specific consumer privacy implications. The first application, market and audience segmentation/profiling, has at least four privacy ramifications: loss of anonymity; no control over information use; misclassification; and actual loss of personal privacy. The second application, "personalized persuasion," has at least three, including loss of identity. Similarly, the third application has at least three, including no control over the dissemination of the information.

Definitionally, "loss of anonymity" is the recognition that a third party possesses personal information about the consumer. Regardless of whether the information was acquired with the knowledge and/or consent of the consumer, possession of information gives the third party insight it didn't have before. "No control over information," is the recognition that once a third party has personal information, the consumer generally cannot affect or impede the use or distribution of that information. Related to "no control over information" is "mis-classification." Once an advertiser has consumer information, they can use it to categorize, define, or label the consumer in a variety of ways (e.g., VALS); there is no guarantee, however, that the classification chosen is accurate, right, or appropriate. "Loss of personal privacy," on the other hand, captures the notion that many consumers believe they have a "right to be left alone" or not bothered by others. This "right" is violated or reduced, however, when advertisers use personal information to classify a consumer so that s/he will be bothered (most

likely by advertising messages). Finally, "loss of identity" refers to the harm that may result when consumers repeatedly and continually receive mass-produced and distributed "personalized" messages. Repeated exposure to artificially personal messages could conceivable teach a consumer that they are not so special after all.

BALANCING ADVERTISERS' NEEDS AND CONSUMERS' PRIVACY

The dependency of advertisers on consumer information, combined with the complexities of defining privacy and what it entails, suggest that striking a balance between consumers' interests and advertisers' needs is a necessary, though not very easy, task. Any proposed solutions, for instance, must both protect the privacy of personal information and still allow for its use. Although this may appear contradictory, the gathering and use of personal information on consumers is not inherently wrong nor threatening to individual rights (McCrohan 1989; Posch 1987). There are, however, at least two sets of options that can be utilized in the process of defining the boundaries between proper use and consumer rights: 1) legislative action; and 2) industry self-regulation, which to be effective must strengthen current professional guidelines and ethical standards. Each option, however, has unique strengths and weaknesses.

Legislative Action

Given that the U.S. government is the major collector of personal information about the private lives of individuals (Gandy and Simmons 1986; Turn 1985), there have been many legislative attempts to specify when and how consumer information can be used or collected. Eight federal privacy laws, for instance, were enacted during the 1980s, and at least 11 recently proposed bills deal with various elements of privacy (Gray 1990). Similarly, there has also been considerable interest in information regulations and privacy at the state level. New Jersey considered passing a law restricting the amount of personal information a merchant could collect during credit card sales (Brennan 1990), while the Wisconsin legislature recently formed a "Special Committee on Privacy and Information" (Eggleston 1990). Although the overall goal of these legislative attempts is to create a "level playing field," between the

users of personal information and the individual consumer, there are several problems with relying on legislative solutions to privacy issues.

First, most federal laws dealing with the protection of personal information have serious weaknesses from the consumer standpoint. The most significant piece of legislation, the Privacy Act of 1974, which was designed to prohibit federal government offices from disclosing personal information without the written consent of the individual, has 11 major exceptions (Gandy and Simmons 1986). Similarly, a second cornerstone privacy law, the Fair Credit Reporting Act not only grants consumers access to their credit files, it also makes those files available to market researchers and advertisers. Thus, rather than reducing problems resulting from inaccurate data and poor oversight of access, both laws often provide more symbolic, than real, protection.

Another difficulty in restraining the use of consumer information is that legal remedies that limit the collection and use of consumer information can be considered tantamount to curtailing advertisers' right to free speech (Posch 1987,1988,1989). The central tenet of this argument is that advertisers, in the course of conducting business, need consumer information to decide: a) whom they should communicate with; and b) the content of their communication. Therefore, restrictions on the gathering or use of consumer information, particularly those related to message targeting and development, could eliminate advertisers' ability to disseminate relevant messages to those consumers most interested in, or likely to purchase, the advertised product. In doing so, they would restrain "the free flow of ideas in the commercial marketplace." According to Posch (1987):

> The content of the message is impossible to create without a thorough understanding of the targeted customer. This is built into (marketers') databases. Restrictions on the creation of databases constitute a prior restraint on the content of (advertising) messages ...

Many consumers, as well as advertisers, disagree with Posch's general contention, especially when the reasoning is applied to financial and credit information. For example, Roy Schwedelson, CEO of WMI/Worldata, maintains that the direct marketing industry, via self

regulation, must recognize and eliminate inappropriate uses of consumer information, such as making financial and credit information easily or readily available to any and all advertisers (Barton 1989). The primary reason the availability of such information as number of credit cards, available credit line, and home mortgage, represents a potential threat to consumer privacy is that such information is usually disseminated without consumer knowledge. Companies rarely inform consumers when information on private financial dealings is being rented or used in ways the consumer had not intended.

Finally, three other significant drawbacks to legislative solutions involve issues relating to: 1) responsibility; 2) power; and 3) timing. In regard to responsibility, most laws and legislative attempts rely on individuals to protect their own self interest. The Privacy Act, for instance, places the entire burden of exercising privacy rights on the individual; they must request notification about the existence of records from each of the nearly 6,000 federal record systems and make arrangements for review (Turn 1985). In regard to power, most legal remedies place the interests of individuals in opposition to the needs of agencies for information. In many situations, by refusing to provide or denying access to personal information, an individual would be forced to forfeit a tangible benefit such as employment or credit (Regan 1986). Finally, timing has two implications. First, by the time legislators get around to dealing with a problem, the practices may have already become an integral part of the business operation or technological advances may have rendered the proposed legislation obsolete. It is clear, for instance, that any legislative initiatives regarding privacy must recognize that advertisers and direct marketers take access to detailed consumer information for granted. Second, laws, such as the Privacy Act and Fair Credit Reporting Act, generally provide remedies only after misuses of personal information have occurred. This neither protects the individual from future misuses, nor prevents similar wrongs from being committed to others (Regan 1986).

Professional and Industry Self-Regulation

Since laws and legislation offer only partial solutions, professional and industry self-

regulation must play an integral role in resolving the issues related to consumer information and privacy. Advertisers, direct marketers, and information providers must establish policies that balance the need for personal information with consumer privacy. As Tables 1 and 2 illustrate, a number of such policies could be implemented. At a minimum, direct marketers and advertisers should routinely inform consumers when personal information is being collected; how that information will be used; and who will have access to that information. In the case of the latter, direct marketers could further alleviate privacy concerns by providing consumers with a way to "opt off" lists that are sold or rented to other companies (More information on this issue will be presented shortly). Another set of industry practices that would likely reduce consumer privacy concerns revolves around the actual information. Here, direct marketers and advertisers should take visible steps to ensure the accuracy and currency of the information maintained in their lists and files. Allowing consumers to periodically review their files, for instance, would benefit both parties. Consumers would learn precisely what information was contained in those files, while marketers would have both correct and up-to-date information.

Along with the above practices, professional guidelines must be created which clearly delineate what personal information can be legitimately collected, how often information should be updated, who should be able to access that information (and under what circumstances), and what the appropriate uses for the various types of consumer information are. Such guidelines, for instance, should allow consumers regular and easy access to their records; place restrictions on the use and dissemination of financial and credit information; and provide for guaranteeing the accuracy and completeness of records (Gray 1989). Since many of the practices and abuses that cause consumers the most concern involve federal, state, and local governments, such entities should not be exempt from those guidelines. The impact of voluntary guidelines would be greatly enhanced, for instance, if federal agencies and state departments of motor vehicles informed citizens that the information they collect may be rented to marketers and advertisers.

Although some might argue against such practices, or against self-regulation in general, there is evidence that such steps are effective. There is, for example, growing consumer interest and participation in the Direct Marketing Association's mail and telephone preference services. These services, which allow consumers a way to "opt off" mail and/or telephone lists, have experienced tremendous growth. The DMA's preference service recently increased from 592,000 names to 797,000 names in just six months; an increase of 205,000 names, or 35%. The DMA has also expanded this approach by offering consumers a "Name Removal Option"; or a way to "opt off" mail or telephone lists before a company rents or sells that list to others.

The ultimate success of industry self-regulation, however, is dependent on its ability to overcome two major shortcomings. One weakness of self-regulation concerns the imbalance of power between individual consumers and the marketers and advertisers which collect and use the information. Even with better professional guidelines and disclosure practices, consumers will have limited negotiating power, because they often must provide information in return for goods and services. This "leveling of the playing field" between consumers and marketers is therefore an area where legislation might prove helpful. The second shortcoming of self-regulation stems from voluntary compliance. Those companies most likely to engage in questionable data-gathering or information-use practices are least likely to adopt industry guidelines. In extreme cases this may necessitate governmental intervention or legislation, but more generally, it speaks for industry trade associations that take aggressive leadership roles and provide powerful compliance incentives. Hopefully, practitioners realize that not taking corrective action generally increases the likelihood of restrictive legislation being enacted.

Finally, the academic community must become actively involved in efforts to define and promote professional and ethical standards relating to the use of consumer information. This academic involvement must begin in the classroom. Early in their advertising education students are taught to learn as much as possible about consumers and target audiences in order to maximize the effectiveness of message appeals and media placement. Judging by professional

practices, the students have learned their lessons well. Given recent developments in advertising practices, it is not enough that students learn how to create and deliver persuasive messages using the variety of information available to them. Classroom discussion should also include: 1) the appropriateness of the type and amount of consumer data collected, especially financial and credit information; 2) the appropriateness of using information for purposes other than it was collected; 3) ensuring consumers regular and easy access to their records; and 4) the sanctity of personal information. The advertisers and direct marketers of tomorrow are the students of today. They must learn of the professional responsibilities that coincide with the use of personal information. Only then will they be able to make the ethical judgements necessary to fulfill their professional and moral responsibilities.

Summary

It is somewhat ironic that a good business practice, that of knowing as much as possible about customers in order to serve them better, has become the source of much consumer concern. Based on the issues examined in this paper, however, it is clear that the data-gathering and information-use practices of marketers and advertisers can infringe on consumers' privacy rights. First, consumers often have only limited knowledge of the extent and scope of those practices. Second, depending on the intrusiveness of the practice, the gathering and use of personal consumer information threatens consumer privacy in at least four different ways. At present, properly addressing the situation requires: 1) a concerted effort by marketers, advertisers, and advertising educators to promote strong professional/industry information gathering and use guidelines and standards; and 2) a genuine commitment to implement key tenets regarding the collection and use of consumer information. These tenets include: 1) limiting the amount and types of consumer data collected; 2) ensuring consumers regular and easy access to their records; 3) restrictions on the use and dissemination of financial and credit information; 4) increased education regarding the sanctity of personal information; and 5) limits on the uses of information for purposes other than it was originally collected.

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TABLE 1

CONSUMER KNOWLEDGE OF INFORMATION-GATHERING TECHNIQUES

		RELATIVE LEVEL OF CONSUMER KNOWLEDGE		
		Knowledge of Collection	Knowledge of Collection Rather than Use	Little or No Knowledge of Collection and Use
COLLECTION METHOD	Time/Place of Purchase	Scanner Data Frequent Flyer Programs Frequent Buyer Programs Magazine Subscription Catalog Purchases/Orders Financial Transactions	Scanner Data Frequent Flyer Frequent Buyer Magazine Subs. Catalog P/O Financial Transactions	Magazine Subscription Catalog Purchases Surviellance Cameras Financial Transactions
	Telephone Inquiry	Screening/Qualifying Calls Calls to 800 Numbers Calls to 900 Numbers	Screening/Qualifying Calls to 800 Numbers Calls to 900 Numbers	Automatic Number Indentification (ANI) Calls to 800 Numbers Calls to 900 Numbers
	In Response to Advertising or Promotion Offers	Coupons Trial Offers "Free" Offers Premium Offers Warranty Cards Membership Clubs Newsletters	Coupons Trial Offers "Free Offers" Premium Offers Warranty Cards Membership Clubs Newsletters	
	Surveys, Studies, Questionnaires	U.S. Census Media Use Surveys Consumer Shopping Panels	U.S. Census Media Use Surveys Consumer Shopping Panels	
	Public/Proprietary Databases	Public Records Vehicle Registrations Postal Records List Brokers/Compilers Telephone Directories	Public Records Vehicle Registrations Postal Records List Brokers/Compilers Telephone Directories	Public Records Vehicle Registrations Postal Records List Brokers/Compilers

TABLE 2

PERSONAL INFORMATION AND INFORMATION USE: POTENTIAL CONSUMER PRIVACY IMPLICATIONS

(TYPE OF ADVERTISER)	(LEVEL OF SPECIFITY)	ADVERTISING DATA USES/APPLICATIONS: Market & Audience Segmentation or Profiling	"Personalized" Persuasive Messages	Selling/Renting Consumer Information
DATABASE MARKETING /|\	Customer database information	**GREATEST POTENTIAL PRIVACY THREATS**		
		*Loss of Anonymity *No control over use	*Loss of Anonymity *Loss of Identity *Loss of Personal Privacy	*No Control over distribution *Loss of Control over use *Loss of Personal Privacy
	"Precise" Geodemographic Information	*Mis-classification *Loss of Personal Privacy/"Right to Be Left Alone"		
	Lifestyle, Hobby Activities, and Interest Information			
	Psychographic Information	**MODEST POTENTIAL THREATS TO PRIVACY**		
	Values and Attitudes			
	Broad Demographic Category Information			
|/ "GENERAL" ADVERTISING PRACTICES	Broad Geographic Location Information	**FEWEST POTENTIAL THREATS TO PRIVACY**		

ADVERTISING'S DEFENSE OF ITS FIRST AMENDMENT RIGHTS

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ABSTRACT

Advertising spokespersons have been defending their industry against ad bans by claiming they will do no good. In mature categories, they say, advertising does not attract new users, it only gets people to switch brands. This article contends such an argument harms advertising's image as an effective marketing tool and it will eventually fail because the public does not believe it. It suggests a better defense based on the people's right to know.

"The First Amendment is precious," said Howard Bell, president of the American Advertising Federation. "Freedom of speech and freedom to receive that speech are rights unique to the United States. But they are not invulnerable. They are constantly under attack. That is why we must be ever vigilant in our defense. We must remember, no matter how the would-be censors attempt to frame the debate, the most important issue is not a specific product, not a particular program, but freedom of speech."

That quotation, given in a speech at an AAF government affairs conference, is reproduced as the centerpiece of a full page ad in American Advertising, the AAF quarterly publication. Interestingly, the ad's signature reads, "Lorillard, America's First Tobacco Company." (1)

But even though Bell's words are heartily endorsed by a company whose motives might easily be described as self serving, they do contain a forceful argument for preserving the right to advertise tobacco, alcohol and other proven or possibly harmful products. For he speaks not only of freedom of speech but also of the freedom to receive speech. As this essay will try to show, from both a logical and a legal point of view, it is not the right to advertise that the public or the courts should or will be interested in saving. It is the right of the people to have information.

Background

The statement at the heart of Justice Blackmun's majority opinion in Virginia State Board of Pharmacy v. Virginia Citizen's Consumer Council, the Supreme Court case which recognized advertising's First Amendment rights, is that suppression of information, even information contained in advertising, "is a covert attempt by the state to manipulate the choices of its citizens, not by persuasion or direct regulation, but by depriving the public of information needed to make a free choice...." (2)

Unfortunately, that does not seem to be the crux of the advertising industry's argument in congressional hearings, or any other forum, when it's leaders express their views about proposed advertising bans. An editorial in that same issue of American Advertising gives a better picture of the primary industry argument. "Study after study of advertising bans around the world have all reached the same conclusion," it states, "advertising bans on tobacco and alcohol do not reduce consumption." (3)

Testimony to a congressional subcommittee by James O'Toole, then executive vice-president and now president of the American Association of Advertising Agencies, gives another side to what is essentially the same argument. "Advertising strategies for brands in mature categories," he said, "are directed toward increasing share of market and not category expansion." (4)

These and similar statements by industry leaders do not, of

course, go unchallenged. C. Everett Koop, former U.S. Surgeon General, gave this testimony at congressional hearings. "Advertising," he said, "constantly and deliberately recruits new smokers among youngsters and encourages established smokers to puff more." (5) Chapman raises many questions about the validity of claims that advertising bans in other countries have not worked. He points to Norway where tobacco sales did decline after an ad ban and to Italy where advertising, although illegal, is not uncommon. (6)

It is not the purpose here to review--let alone try to assess the merits of--the volume of studies on both sides of the question whether advertising increases primary demand for tobacco, alcohol or, for that matter, any category of products. The author will simply agree with Aaker and Carman that, "looking for the relationship between advertising and sales is somewhat worse than looking for a needle in a haystack." (7)

It is, however, a definite purpose to underscore the incongruity of advertising leaders taking sides with the "advertising-doesn't-work" contingent. As Gailbraith points out, "...most practitioners would not only agree but assume (one of the functions of advertising) is to stimulate demand..." (8) And in contrast to AAAA president O'Toole's statement, quoted above, that advertising in mature categories is only directed toward brand switching, an AAAA advertisement declares, "Advertising helps products sell, which holds down prices, which helps sales even more." (9)

With each new statement that ad bans don't work or advertising has nothing to do with young people starting to smoke (or drink) or ads only affect those who already smoke (or drink) the advertising industry puts itself further and further into the two-faced position described by Schudson.

> "If (advertising agencies and media) are trying to convince an advertiser to increase its media budget, they can cite examples of devastatingly successful advertising campaigns. But if they are defending themselves before the FTC or a civic organization... they trot out the data that demonstrate that advertising has slight or no effect on product sales." (10)

Beyond incongruity is unbelievability. The public is not buying the idea that an advertising ban won't help decrease smoking. A good indication of this is in Gallup polls which show the percentage of people who favor such a ban has been growing steadily until now it is a solid majority. (11) There is evidence advertising practitioners themselves do not believe their industry leaders when they say advertising does not increase tobacco consumption. Members of advertising clubs in two midwestern cities disagreed strongly with statements that advertising does not increase the total consumption of tobacco products and that advertising has nothing to do with a young person's decision to start smoking. They agreed with a statement that banning advertising will cause a reduction in the number of new smokers. (12)

Among those who speak for the industry only Advertising Age has seemed to recognize what harm this "we're-not-part-of-the-problem" position is doing to advertising's image as an effective

marketing tool. When Surgeon General Koop admitted there is no scientifically rigorous study that answers the question does advertising increase the level of tobacco consumption, industry leaders reacted with joy. (13) In an editorial the following week, the publication asked some thoughtful question including the one in the headline itself, "Why cheer this 'victory'?" It also asked, "Do the ad associations risk their credibility, or worse, if they embrace the tobacco industry credo that hundreds of millions of dollars worth of cigarette advertising doesn't attract new smokers?" It went on to point out, "Evidence of ad effectiveness--or lack thereof--shouldn't be the focus of this debate. The battleground is freedom of speech."

Why do advertising trade association leaders continue to emphasize the lack of advertising's effectiveness in a ridiculous contradiction to what trade association leaders are expected to emphasize? The answer can only be pragmatism. Up to now no bill banning alcohol or tobacco has been voted out of congressional committee. So, it's an argument that seems to be working. And, as DeWitt Helm, President of the Association of National Advertisers, said, in an answer to the Advertising Age editorial, "...we refuse to jettison any of our constitutional arguments." (Emphasis in original.)

To understand why Helm and others consider this argument such an important line of defense it is necessary to understand something of the history of First Amendment protection for advertising. In 1942, the Supreme Court first addressed the

issue in Valentine v. Chrestensen in a matter concerning the distribution of handbills forbidden by a city ordinance. It concluded that although "the streets are proper places for the exercise of the freedom of communicating information" and government may not "unduly burden or prescribe" this right, "the Constitution imposes no such restraint on government as respects purely commercial advertising." (16) This unanimous ruling was later called, "casual, almost offhand" and something that "has not survived reflection" by one of the judges who concurred with it. (17) But it remained in force for 34 years. And, even though its complete denial of any First Amendment rights to advertising has since been modified, Valentine nevertheless firmly established advertising as something different than regular speech.

When the Virginia Pharmacy decision came along in 1976 it recognized that advertising should be protected by the First Amendment but still kept it in a special category called "commercial speech," described in another Supreme Court decision as speech that "does no more than propose a commercial transaction." (18) A footnote to the majority opinion made it clear the court considered commercial speech different. And, it said, "Even if the differences do not justify complete suppression by the State, they nonetheless suggest that a different degree of protection is necessary...." (19)

In 1980, in Central Hudson Gas & Electric Corp. v. Public Service Commission of New York, (20) the court set up this four-

part test to determine the constitutionality of laws regulating commercial speech:

1. The speech "must concern lawful activity and not be misleading."

2. The "governmental interest is substantial."

3. "The regulation directly advances the governmental interest."

4. The regulation "is not more extensive than necessary to serve that interest."

Advertising's spokespeople don't want to argue against ad bans using test number one as a basis and carefully point out they are only defending truthful advertising for legal products. (21) They realize they have no argument that will stand up regarding test number two. The health of the nation is obviously a substantial government interest.

At first glance it would seem test number four is the ideal place for advertising to take a stand. Government can always take the less extensive measure of counter-speech, that is to say, it always has the option of promoting speech that persuades people not to smoke or drink. But ad leaders are wary of putting all their eggs in this basket, possibly because it's the last one they think they have. More important though, it must be acknowledged, they have good tactical reasons to be wary since two recent Supreme Court decisions have cast a shadow over what test four really means.

The first of these was Posadas de Puerto Rico Associates. v. Tourism Co. of Puerto Rico, (22) in which the Supreme Court

upheld the legality of a ban on the advertising of casino gambling. In it, according to one analysis, (23) the Court relieved the state of its burden under test number four to demonstrate that alternative restrictions would be ineffective.

The second was Board of Trustees of the State University of New York v. Todd Fox (24) where the court allowed the university to continue regulating commercial enterprises in student dormitories. That decision further diluted test four by asserting it is not necessary "that the manner of restriction is absolutely the least severe that will achieve the desired end. What our decisions require is a 'fit' between the legislature's ends and the means chosen to accomplish those ends--a fit that is not necessarily perfect, but reasonable."

So, by a process of elimination, advertising leaders have concentrated their arguments on test three and thus continue to stand up before congressional committees and the world to say, "Don't worry about us. We can't do any harm, anyway."

But, how long can a stance such as that hold off the people determined to do something about the problems of smoking and alcohol abuse? Instead of making them think about the consequences of a new restriction on free speech ad industry leaders seems to be playing into their hands. First of all, they open themselves to the accusation, "You can't really believe that. You're just saying it to preserve lucrative business." Secondly, if all they can say about advertising is it doesn't do any harm they'll only convince proponents a ban couldn't do any

harm, either. So why not try one?

Recommendations

Advertising leaders, industry and academic leaders alike, need to take a bold new three-step approach to defending advertising's rights under the First Amendment. Step one is for everyone to realize these rights are utterly dependent on the rights of the people, that the only reason the First Amendment grants a company the right to advertise a product is the right of the people to know about it.

This is important from a political as well as a constitutional standpoint. Legislators and judges are held accountable to these same people and sooner or later it is the public who must be convinced a new restriction on free speech is not in their best interests. That's why those Gallup polls showing more and more people favoring a cigarette ad ban are so disturbing. Advertising trade associations can crow all they like about victories at congressional hearings. But as the people's opinion changes, that will change.

Step two is to move back from the narrow focus of trying to defend advertising's rights under the Central Hudson test. That platform is far too slippery, changing each time the Supreme Court brings it to bear. More important, Central Hudson did nothing to correct the root of the problem, the notion that advertising is a form of second class speech called commercial speech.

On the bright side, many observers believe the commercial speech doctrine is ripe for a complete overhaul. McGowan points out "...the Court has failed to articulate a coherent definition of commercial speech, thus allowing too broad a range of speech to be deemed commercial." Also, "...while the Court has concluded commercial speech is entitled to only intermediate-level First Amendment protection, it has failed to develop a consistent rationale supporting this conclusion." And he adds, "...these problems call for significant changes in the commercial speech doctrine." (25)

Rome and Roberts agree that "the Supreme Court has failed to formulate a precise definition of commercial speech" (26) and declare "how uncertain the boundaries of the commercial speech concept have been." (27) Trauth and Huffman, in their analysis of the Posadas case and its affect on commercial speech conclude, "A number of questions crucially important to both the advertising and legal communities have been raised by Posadas, and their answers may well signal the dissolution of the present commercial speech doctrine. (28)

With this on the horizon advertising spokespeople need to get out of the pack of tobacco and alcohol industry voices claiming advertising doesn't matter very much and into the center, or even the tip, of those who say it matters a lot. It matters, not simply to advertisers, but to consumers who need it, in the words of Sandage, for "the development of judgment...in their purchase practices." (29)

The industry needs to join wholeheartedly with Justice Brennan's dissenting opinion in Posadas that there is "no reason why commercial speech should be afforded less protection than other types of speech" and that "no differences between commercial and other kinds of speech justify protecting commercial speech less extensively where...the government seeks to manipulate private behavior by depriving citizens of truthful information concerning lawful activities." (30)

It needs to embrace statements such as Neuborne's testimony before the House Committee on Energy and Commerce:

> "Attempts to limit the flow of truthful information about lawful choices--whether economic or political--are simply disguised means of government manipulation of individual behavior through the use of information rationing. Nothing could be more inconsistent with--and more corrosive of--a commitment to individual dignity and free choice than a regime of commercial censorship that purports to assure consumers the freedom to choose, while secretly stacking the information deck to manipulate their choices...." (31)

It needs to promote a return to the days before Valentine v. Chrestensen when, as Gartner puts it, "there was no distinction between speech concerning the marketplace of ideas and that concerning the ideas of the marketplace." (32)

And step three, well, it's just a suggestion, but how about advertising people taking the lead in reviving anti-smoking advertising and instituting some truly informative advertising about the dark side of alcohol use? What better way could there be to prove the importance of advertising in presenting people with all the information they should have to make enlightened free choices?

What's more, it's likely to do a great deal of good. Gartner's analysis of what happened in the late 60's and early 70's, after the FCC required broadcasters to donate time to opponents of smoking, explains why.

> "The airwaves soon began carrying messages about the perils of smoking. The consumption of cigarettes declined. It was for this reason, and this reason alone, that the tobacco companies readily yielded to the 1971 ban on cigarette commercials. For the ban eliminated not only the cigarette commercials but also the anti smoking ads--the only really effective weapon ever devised against smoking. As soon as the antismoking ads were stopped, cigarette consumption again began climbing." (33)

The reaction may well be a flurry of account cancellations, similar to R.J. Reynolds' dumping of Satchi & Satchi DFS Compton following it's smoke free environment commercial for Northwest Airlines. (34) But if nothing else, it would certainly take away the stigma that all the advertising industry cares about is preserving business.

The stakes may be high. But consider the prize.

Notes

1. American Advertising, 6:3 (Summer 1990) p.5.

2. 425 US 748 (1976)

3. Op. Cit., p.2.

4. "Lotsa Smoke No Fire," Advertising Age, Aug. 4, 1986, p.1.

5. "Surgeon General, Justice Department Disagree on Tobacco Ads," Editor & Publisher, Aug. 16, 1986, p.20.

6. Simon Chapman, Great Expectorations:Advertising and the Tobacco Industry (London: Comedia Publishing Group, 1986) pp.39-41.

7. David Aaker and James Carman, "Are you Overadvertising?" Journal of Advertising Research, Vol. 22 (August/September, 1982).

8. John Gailbraith, "Economics and Advertising: Exercise in Denial," Advertising Age, Special Issue, "The Power of Advertising," Nov. 9, 1988, p.80.

9. Reprinted in Kim Rotzoll, James Haefner and Charles Sandage, Advertising in Contemporary Society (Cincinnati: South-Western Publishing Co., 1990) p.26.

10. Michael Schudson, Advertising, The Uneasy Persuasion (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1986), pp.15-16.

11. The Gallup Poll, Public Opinion 1988 (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, Inc., 1989) p.153.

12. John Crowley and James Pokrywczynski, "Advertising Practitioners Look at a Ban on Tobacco Advertising," Journalism Quarterly, 68:3 (Autumn 1991).

13. "Koop Surprises Admen," Advertising Age, Jan. 16, 1989, p.8.

14. "Why Cheer This 'Victory'?" Advertising Age, Jan. 23, 1989, p.16.

15. DeWitt Helm, "ANA's Tobacco Ad Strategy," Advertising Age, Jan. 30, 1989, p.20.

16. 316 US 52 (1942)

17. Justice Douglas in a concurring opinion to Cammarano v. United States 358 US 498 (1959).

18. Pittsburgh Press Co v. Human Relations Commission, 413 US, at 385.

19. Op.Cit.

20. 447 US 557 (1980)

21. American Advertising Federation, Report to the Membership (1986-87) p.3.

22. 478 US 328 (1986)

23. David Vestal, "The Tobacco Advertising Debate: A First Amendment Perspective," in Theodore Kupferman, ed., Advertising and Commercial Speech, (Westport, Conn.: Meckler Corporation, 1990) p.140.

24. 109 S Ct 3028 (1989)

25. David McGowan, "A Critical Analysis of Commercial Speech," California Law Review, 78:2 (March, 1990) pp.380-81.

26. Edwin Rome and William Roberts, Corporate and Commercial Free Speech (Westport, Conn.: Quorum Books, 1985) p.108.

27. Ibid. p.102.

28. Denise Trauth and John Huffman, "The Commercial Speech Doctrine: Posadas Revisionism," in Theodore Kupferman, ed., Advertising and Commercial Speech, (Westport, Conn.: Meckler Corporation, 1990) p.112.

29. Charles Sandage, "Some Institutional Aspects of Advertising," Journal of Advertising, 1:1 (1973) pp.6-7.

30. 478 US at 350.

31. Burt Neuborne, quoted in Michael Gartner, Advertising and the First Amendment, (New York: Priority Press Publications, 1989) p.45.

32. Ibid. p.57.

33. Ibid. p.31.

34. Judith Dagnoli, "Reynolds Smolders," Advertising Age, Apr. 11, 1988, p.1.

EXPLORING A RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ATTITUDE TOWARD ADVERTISING AND CUSTOMER SATISFACTION

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ABSTRACT

A survey was conducted of recent purchasers of new automobiles measuring their attitudes toward automobile dealer advertising in general, their attitudes toward the advertising of the dealer where the car was purchased and their satisfaction with that dealer. Correlations were indicated between attitude toward general dealer advertising and dealer-of-purchase advertising and also between both general dealer advertising and satisfaction and dealer-of-purchase advertising and satisfaction.

This is a preliminary report based on the data collected from one market.

The primary purpose of the study is to search for evidence to encourage self-regulation by local advertisers.

There are at least three good reasons to initiate research which explores relationships between the attitudes people have toward advertisements and their satisfaction with the products or services advertised.

The first reason is to increase knowledge about the effects of dishonest, misleading or offensive advertising practices on the advertisers themselves. There are those within the advertising industry who are trying to do something about correcting such practices and any evidence they harm the relations a business has with its customers would be quite valuable. The Self Regulation Committee of the American Advertising Federation, the National Council of Better Business Bureaus and a number of local Better Business Bureaus are supporting this research in the hope it will provide evidence to encourage self-regulation by local advertisers. One local Better Business Bureau has gathered the data on which this initial report is based and others around the country are gathering more data to expand the findings and make comparisons between markets possible.

The idea is to offer a carrot, as well as wave a stick, to promote self-regulation. The stick, of course, is the threat of government intervention if advertising abuses continue. The carrot would be the promise of better customer relations. "Get together and clean up misleading and offensive ads because it will improve your business and make your life easier and more pleasant." (1)

A second reason, somewhat related to the first, is to throw some light on--and possibly suggest remedies for--the dismal reputation advertising and advertising practitioners have with the public. In a recent Gallup poll, for example, when asked, "How would you rate the honesty and ethical standards of people in these different fields?" respondents put advertising practitioners into 24th place out of 25 occupations, just barely ahead of car salesmen. (2)

The third reason is to attempt to add to theoretical knowledge in two areas, attitude toward the ad as a mediator of attitude toward the brand and consumer satisfaction, particularly by seeking a connection between them.

Literature Review

Cardozo seems to have been the first to do an empirical study of the elements that make up consumer satisfaction. He identified customer effort and expectation as the principal components but acknowledged that confirmation or disconfirmation of expectations could affect evaluation. (3) Anderson defined dissatisfaction as "the degree of disparity between expectations and perceived performance." (4)

Swan and Combs considered the relationships between expectations, performance and satisfaction based on "the concept that satisfaction results from the fulfillment of expectations." After examining respondents' satisfaction regarding items of clothing they concluded, "In judging the performance of a

product, the consumer compares a set of performance outcomes to the outcomes that were expected for the item. If the performance of the physical products was below expectations, then the products is likely to be categorized as dissatisfactory. If both instrumental and expressive outcomes (meaning, according to the authors, physical and psychological outcomes) were equal to or exceeded expectations, then the consumer will tend to judge the product as satisfactory." (5)

Oliver stressed the importance of disconfirmation placing it as a crucial intervening variable in satisfaction. This is what occurs when the consumer actually experiences the product or service and his expectation are either confirmed or, more likely, positively or negatively disconfirmed. (6) Swan and Trawick distinguished between inferred and perceived disconfirmation the former being the difference between a customer's postrating and prerating of a product or store and the latter being the customer's perception that the performance was better or worse than expected. (7)

Churchill and Suprenant questioned whether it is necessary to include disconfirmation as an intervening variable affecting satisfaction or whether the effect of disconfirmation is adequately captured by expectation and perceived performance. They concluded that disconfirmation may be a more important factor with non durable goods than with durable goods. (8)

Consensus theories and measures in the study of consumer satisfaction and dissatisfaction are still only a "goal." (9)

However, in most studies, there has been support for the positive relationship between expectations and satisfaction and between disconfirmation and satisfaction. (10)

There can be little question that advertising affects costumer expectations either through central routes or peripheral routes. (11) It could be argued that the major purpose of most advertising is to build expectations. Also, it seems obvious some of the expectations a customer acquires through advertising are going to be disconfirmed at the time of actual experience.

Shimp introduced the concept that attitude toward the ad is an important mediator in consumer choice. (12) MacKenzie and Lutz modeled the interaction of ad cognitions, brand cognitions, attitude toward the ad and attitude toward the brand in the production of purchase intentions. (13) Lutz, MacKenzie and Belch began exploring the antecedents of attitude toward the ad in 1983. As shown in Figure 1, they identified five factors, each with antecedents of its own, leading directly into attitude toward the ad. They are ad credibility, ad perceptions, attitude toward the advertiser, attitude toward advertising and mood. (14)

Gresham and Shimp studied attitude toward the advertisement's relation to brand attitudes from a classical conditioning perspective and came to the conclusion that negative affect ads behave more consistently with the classical conditioning mechanism than do positive affect ads. (15)

In their most recent version of a model of the antecedents of attitude toward the ad (See Figure 2) MacKenzie and Lutz show

much more interaction between the various elements. Saying that the further conceptual refinements complete the evolution of the model from an organizing framework to a testable theory, they conduct an experiment which leads to two particularly interesting conclusions: 1) attitude toward the advertiser appears to be a particularly strong factor; and 2) ad credibility has a double effect on attitude toward the brand, indirectly through attitude toward the ad and also directly (See Figure 3). They were surprised by this dual effect and commented that it "raises intriguing possibilities for both theory and practice." (16)

One of those intriguing possibilities is that ad credibility continues to have an effect beyond the purchase and into the satisfaction/dissatisfaction process.

As a first step in exploring a relationship between attitude toward advertising and customer satisfaction a survey was conducted of people who had recently purchased a new car. The instrument was designed to measure their attitudes toward automobile dealer advertising in general and also toward the advertising of the dealer where they had purchased the car. Then it measured their satisfaction with the purchase. The study had the following hypotheses:

H1: Attitudes toward the advertising of the dealer where purchase was made will be more positive than attitudes toward dealer advertising in general.

H2: Positive attitudes toward dealer advertising in general will correlate with customer satisfaction and conversely, negative attitudes will correlate with customer dissatisfaction.

H3: Positive attitudes toward advertising of the dealer where purchase was made will correlate with customer satisfaction and conversely, negative attitudes will correlate with customer dissatisfaction.

Method

Data gathering took place in February of 1991 from a list of people in a midwestern MSA who had purchased new cars in November of 1990. The list was obtained from the state's automobile registration department. Corporations, leasing companies and other non-personal registrants were eliminated and a random sample designed to gain 200 completed forms was selected from the remaining names. Telephone interviews were then conducted by employees of the local Better Business Bureau.

The instrument (See Appendix A) measured attitudes toward automobile dealer advertising with respondents expressing their agreement, according to a 5-point, Likert-like scale, to words of opposite meaning. The technique and the words used were derived primarily from previous research. (17) The same set of scales was used to measure attitude toward automobile dealer advertising in general and attitude toward the advertising of the dealer where the car had been purchased.

Overall satisfaction and satisfaction with specifics such as price, treatment at the dealership and the service department were measured with a 5-point scale based on previous research in the consumer satisfaction field. (18) For the service department, respondents were separated into those who had

contacted the service department since their purchase and those who had not, measuring the actual satisfaction of the former and the anticipated satisfaction of the latter.

Behavioral intentions to shop at the dealer in the future were measured on a 5-point scale constructed by the authors from their experience with this very special type of retail business.

Finally, demographic information was gathered for gender, age, household income and education.

Results

Sample makeup showed equal representation between males and females , probably reflecting the continually growing trend in the number of females making car purchases. Normal distributions were found for income and education, with the median annual income range $30-45,000. 41% had up to a completed high school education, 33% were college graduates or held advanced degrees and the rest had some college.

Overall ratings of general and specific dealer advertising were on the positive side of the midpoint, as was satisfaction with dealer where respondents had purchased their cars. Characteristics of dealer advertising in general rated highest were "good," "complimentary," "polite," and "inoffensive," while "informative" and "realistic" came up lowest. Similar results emerged for dealer ads with "trustworthy" added to the high rankings.

Scale analysis was performed to assess the dimensional nature of the attitude toward the ad scales. Principle axis factoring with varimax rotation showed both scales were undimensional and both measured slightly different things (See Table 1). These findings were the basis for summing all 13 items into a composite measure of attitudes toward either dealer advertising in general (Genad) or advertising done by the specific dealer where the automobile was purchased (Dealad). These composite measures then became critical in evaluating the hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1: Significant differences were found between ratings of Genad and Dealad (See Table 2). Advertising of the dealer where the car was purchased was rated more positively than dealer advertising in general, although both scores were above the midpoint. H1 was supported. This result must be qualified by the fact that influences other than the advertising (e.g., treatment buyer experienced during negotiation for purchase or service after purchase) cannot be removed from a post-purchase data collection such as this.

Demographic influences on attitudes toward the ad showed only one significant difference, that based on income (See Table 2), although patterns showed that ratings of advertising also dipped for college graduates. Lower income groups consistently rated both Genad and Dealad higher than upper income groups. This has important practical ramifications for car dealers, especially premium-line dealers who rely on upscale customers.

Hypotheses 2 & 3: Significant (p=.01) Pearson product moment correlations were found between both Genad and Dealad and overall customer satisfaction with the dealer where the car was purchased (See Table 3). Both relationships were positive, as expected. Of note, the relationship between the attitude toward the advertising of dealer where the purchase was made versus customer satisfaction and the relationship between attitude toward dealer advertising in general versus customer satisfaction was more than twice as strong. H2&3 were supported.

Attitudes toward dealer advertising were also significantly correlated with specific areas of customer satisfaction (price, treatment by salesperson[s], service department) (See Table 3). The relationships were strongest for salesperson(s) (.47) and service treatment (.44) and weakest for price (.22). Genad relationships with satisfaction were always weaker than Dealad relationships.

Confounds: Age was found to have a significantly stronger relationship with attitudes toward the specific dealer's advertising than with dealer advertising in general. (See Table 3). The older one gets, the more positively one is likely to rate dealer advertising. This may say something about dealer loyalty among an older population.

Additional analyses: The relationship between ratings of advertising and the likelihood of consumers purchasing their next car from the same dealer were assessed in a variety of ways. First, scores on Dealad were compared among three groups" 1)

those who would probably purchase from the same dealer without shopping anywhere else; 2) those who would definitely include the same dealer among places they would shop; and 3) those who "probably would," "probably would not" or "definitely would not" include the dealer among places they would shop for the next car.

Analysis of variance showed ratings significantly higher for those in categories one or two compared to those in category three (See Table 4). Those likely to visit the same dealer for their next car purchase did not move below the neutral point on any scale rating dealer advertising.

Next, scores on several post-hoc dimensions (credibility, advertising format, cognitive persuasiveness) of concern to dealers and researchers were compared among the three groups mentioned above. Significant differences were found for dealer ad credibility (realistic, believable and trustworthy), ad format (polite, non-irritating) and ad cognitive appeals (informative, convincing) (See Table 4). As one would expect, buyers likely to return to the same dealer without shopping anywhere else found the advertising of the dealer where they purchased most credible. The less likely buyers were to return to the same dealer, the less credible they found that dealer's advertising. Similar patterns held for ad format and cognitive appeals.

Discussion

Support for the three hypotheses indicates further investigation could be fruitful. The next step, already

underway, is to gather similar data from other markets. Under the assumption there will be higher and/or lower ratings of at least general automobile dealer advertising in other places there could be interesting differences in ratings of dealer advertising and customer satisfaction.

Two new hypotheses will be tested: 1) more positive attitudes toward dealer advertising in general will correlate with more positive attitudes toward the advertising of the dealer where purchase was made and, conversely, more negative attitudes will correlate more negatively; and 2) more positive attitudes toward dealer advertising in general will correlate with higher custoner satisfaction and lower customer dissatisfaction and, conversely, more negative attitudes toward dealer advertising in general will correlate with lower customer satisfaction and higher customer dissatisfaction.

If support is found it should provide useful evidence to convince retailers their interests would be best served by cooperating with advertising self-regulation efforts.

Also, the additional data will allow for a more thorough testing of H2&3. Customer satisfaction in the market where the original survey was conducted was quite high. According to Hanan and Karp, "a high level of satisfaction exists if the top categories add up to between 85 and 90 percent." (19) The top categories of overall satisfaction in this study ("very satisfied" and "somewhat satisfied") added up to 89 percent. This left the lower categories without enough answers to justify

detailed analysis.

The most important reservation to make regarding the accuracy of this study is that attitude toward advertising was measured in a post-purchase condition. Many of the respondents could well have been following the dissonance-attribution hierarchy of cognitive, affective and conative factors described by Ray (20). They made their dealership choices for a reason or reasons entirely independent of advertising (for instance convenient location or a friend works there) and this affected their attitudes toward the dealership's advertising. ("It must be good. After all, I bought there.") This may have had a particularly strong effect on the support given H1.

Obviously, a pre/post-purchase design would be better but the difficulty in matching respondents in the pre- and post conditions did not make it practical at this time. The main reason automobile dealers were chosen as the type of retailer to study was the ease in finding recent purchasers through state automobile registrations. The advantages of starting an inquiry into the relationship of attitude toward advertising and customer satisfaction with a very "do-able" methodology seemed to outweigh the disadvantages.

It must, of course, also be acknowledged that attitude toward advertising is only one of many factors that could affect customer satisfaction and that the strength of individual factors will vary in each case. This cannot help but confound results.

If further results continue to indicate a relationship

future research could try to chart the path between cause and effect.

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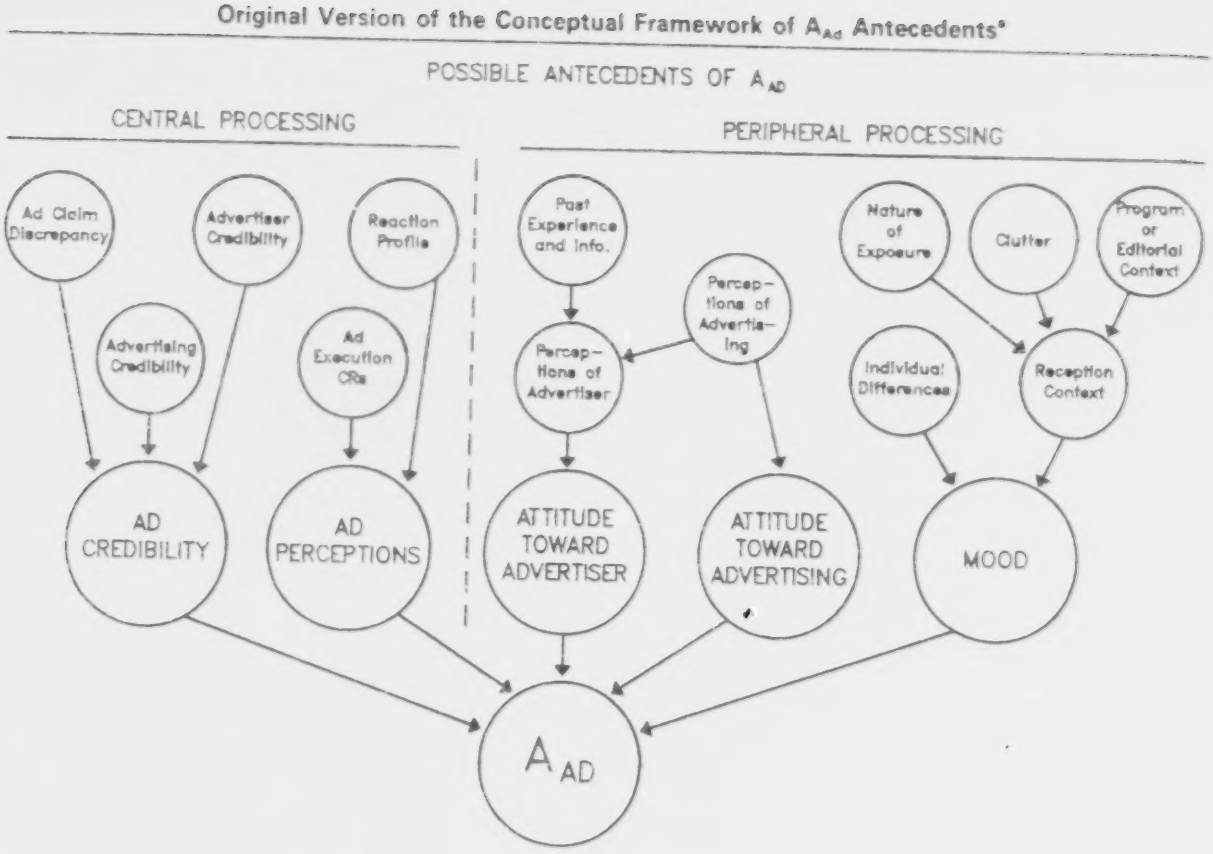
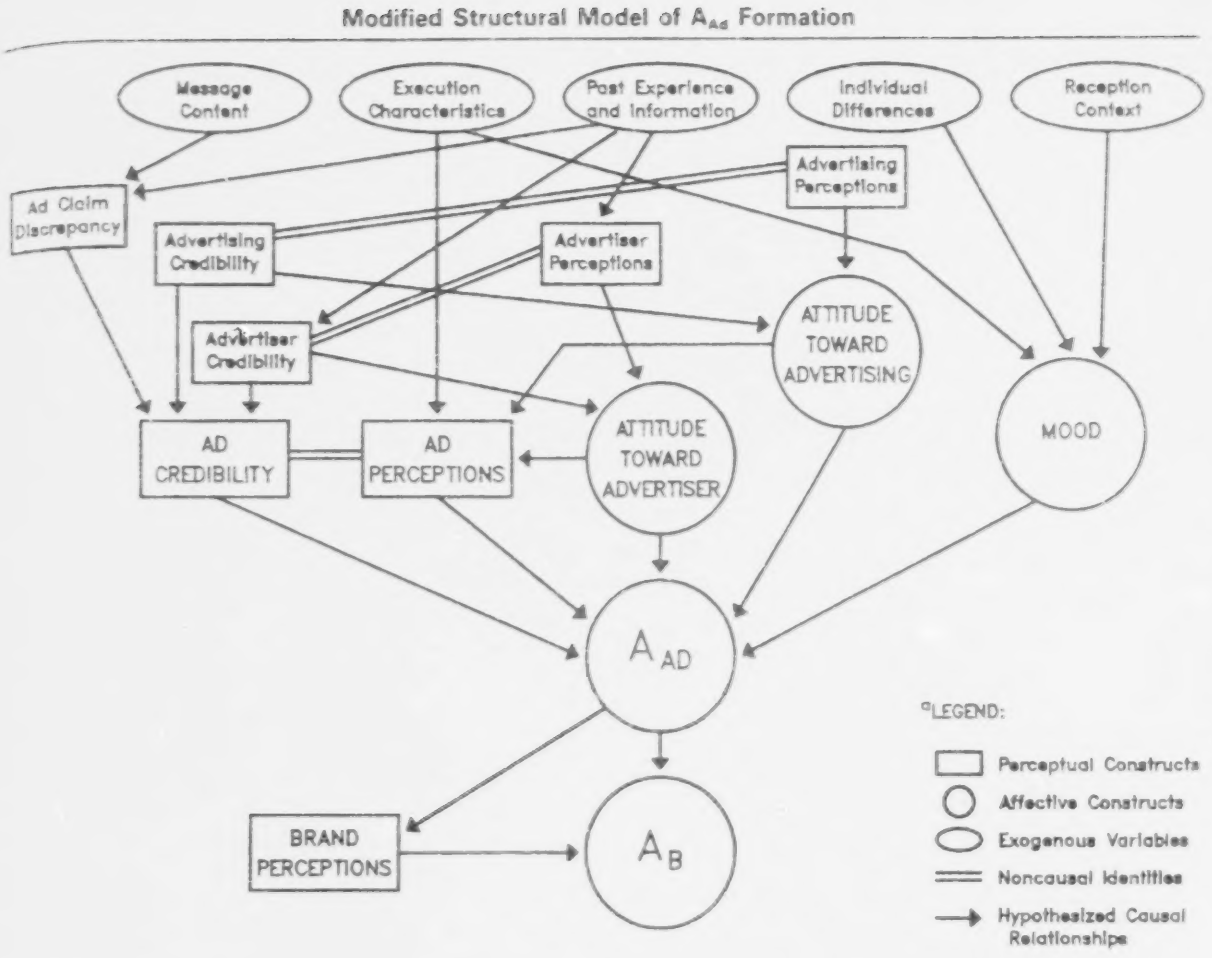
Figure 1



Source: Lutz, MacKenzie and Belch (14)

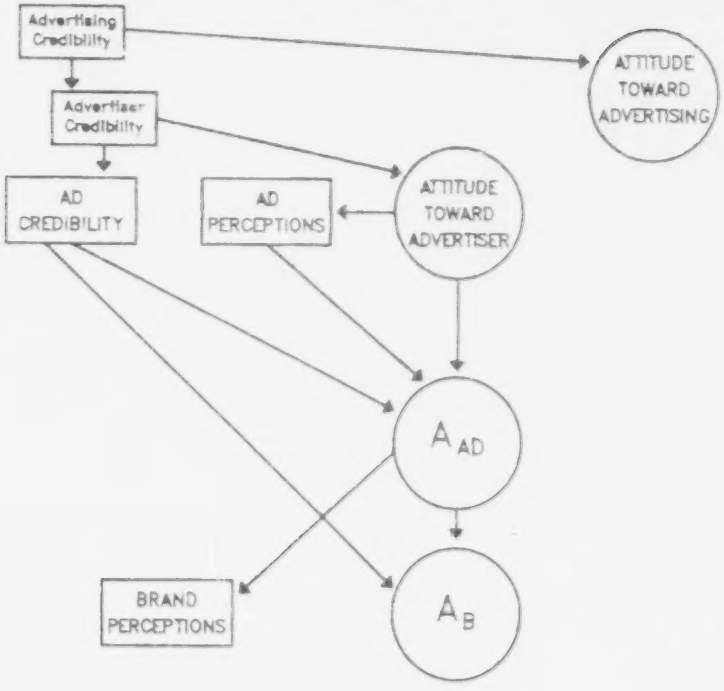
Figure 2



Source: MacKenzie and Lutz (16)

Figure 3

Tested Part of the Structural Model as Refined and Cross-Validated



Source: MacKenzie and Lutz (16)

Table 1
Principal axis factor scores with varimax rotation
and reliabilities

Items	Dealer ad factor	General ad factor	Communalities
GenGood	.25	.49	.48
GenCompliment	.13	.59	.57
GenLike	.1[illegible]	.54	.53
GenPolite	.2[illegible]	.53	.52
GenRealistic	.1[illegible]	.07	.49
GenPleasant	.10	.67	.59
GenConvince	.17	.06	.53
GenInformative	.30	.59	.43
GenBelievable	.1	.75	.61
GenTrustworthy	.19	.77	.64
GenUnannoying	.07	.[illegible]	.51
GenQuiet	.15	.53	.[illegible]
GenUnoffensive	.1[illegible]	.51	.55
DealGood	.67	.20	.[illegible]
DealCompliment	.71	.21	.63
DealLike	.77	.[illegible]1	.[illegible]
DealPolite	.7[illegible]	.1[illegible]	.61
DealRealistic	.7[illegible]	.[illegible]2	.[illegible]
DealPleasant	.7[illegible]	.19	.7[illegible]
DealConvince	.62	.3[illegible]	.50
DealInform	.7[illegible]	.[illegible]3	.64
DealBelievable	.76	.32	.71
DealTrust	.7[illegible]	.1[illegible]	.65
DealUnannoying	.03	.05	.09
DealQuiet	.60	.[illegible]0	.57
DealUnoff	.59	.04	.59
Eigenvalue	10.7[illegible]	4.5[illegible]	
% Variance	41.5[illegible]	16.9[illegible]	
Alpha	.9[illegible]	.91	

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Table 2

Differences in advertising ratings

Genad	40.9		
		1-tail pairwise t-test (df=198)	12.77
Dealad	49.5		p=.0001

Demographic influences

Income on Genad	Mean	Income on Dealad	Mean
$30,000 or less	43.8	$30,000 or less	52.7
$30-45,000	40.8	$30-45,000	48.7
$45-60,000	39.0	$45-60,000	47.2
$60,000 plus	38.8	$60,000 plus	46.3

	M.S.	F(3,194)	p	M.S.	F(3,194)	p
Between	283.8	2.51	.06	313.4	2.55	.06
Within	113.4					

Table 3

Correlations between attitudes toward advertising and customer satisfaction with the dealer

	SATISFACTION WITH:				
	Price	Salesperson Treatment	Service Treatment	Anticipated Serv. Treat.	Overall
AD ATTITUDES:					
GenAd	.09	.19**	.10	.37**	.16**
DealAd	.22**	.47**	.44**	.42**	.38**

Other correlations

	Age
General adv.	.09
Dealer adv.	.55**

* p<.05
** p<.01

Table 4

Differences in attitudes of dealer advertising based on future shopping intentions

Future Purchase Intent on Dealer Advertising	Mean		M.S.	F(2,195)	p
Shop same dealer only	54.2a	Between	1699.98	15.4	.0001
Include dealer among	51.5a	Within	108.46		
Maybe, probably not definitely not	43.9b				

POST-HOC ANALYSIS

Future Purchase Intent on Credibility	Mean		M.S.	F(2,195)	p
Shop same dealer only	12.8a	Between	115.95	15.4	.0001
Include dealer among	11.7a	Within	7.53		
Maybe, probably not definitely not	9.9b				

Future Purchase Intent on Ad Format	Mean		M.S.	F(2,195)	p
Shop same dealer only	20.7a	Between	259.7	13.8	.0001
Include dealer among	20.3a	Within	17.7		
Maybe, probably not definitely not	17.0b				

Future Purchase Intent on Ad Cognitive Appeals	Mean		M.S.	F(2,195)	p
Shop same dealer only	8.1a	Between	31.1	8.3	.0003
Include dealer among	7.7a	Within	3.75		
Maybe, probably not definitely not	6.7b				

Key: Credibility was sum of items: realistic, believable and trustworthy. Format:polite, irritating, annoying, noisy and offensive. Cognitive: informative, convincing.

Note: Different letters represent significant differences based on Scheffe multiple range test at $p<.05$.

APPENDIX A

(Make sure you are speaking to the person who is the registered owner of the new car.)

My name is _____ and I'm with the Better Business Bureau. In cooperation with a leading university, the Bureau is doing a survey of people who have recently purchased a new car. Would you help us by answering a few questions? Your answers will be kept completely confidential and it will only take about four or five minutes.

1. The first question pertains to the advertising of <u>all</u> automobile dealers in this area. Not about just one dealer and not advertising about the cars themselves.
I'm going to read a series of two words to you. In each case tell me which word best describes your feelings or if your feelings are in the middle between the two words.

   Ready?

   Do you feel the advertising of all automobile dealers in this area is...

	<VERY	<SOMEWHAT	NEUTRAL	SOMEWHAT>	VERY>	
Good	1	2	3	4	5	Bad
Insulting	1	2	3	4	5	Complimentary
Like	1	2	3	4	5	Dislike
Rude	1	2	3	4	5	Polite
Phony	1	2	3	4	5	Realistic
Irritating	1	2	3	4	5	Pleasant
Convincing	1	2	3	4	5	Unconvincing
Uninformative	1	2	3	4	5	Informative
Believable	1	2	3	4	5	Unbelievable
Trustworthy	1	2	3	4	5	Untrustworthy
Annoying	1	2	3	4	5	Unannoying
Noisy	1	2	3	4	5	Quiet
Offensive	1	2	3	4	5	Inoffensive

2. Which of these phrases best describes your role in the decision about which dealer to buy from?

____ I made that decision alone.

____ I was the most important person in making that decision.

____ I helped make that decision fairly equally with one or more persons.

____ Someone else was the most important person in making that decision.

____ I had little or nor part in that decision.

3. I'm going to read that same series of two words again. This time, please tell which word best describes your feelings about the advertising done by the dealer where you bought your new car. Remember, these are only your feelings about this dealer's <u>advertising</u>.

Do you feel the advertising of the dealer where you bought your new car is...

	<VERY	<SOMEWHAT	NEUTRAL	SOMEWHAT>	VERY>	
Good	1	2	3	4	5	Bad
Insulting	1	2	3	4	5	Complimentary
Like	1	2	3	4	5	Dislike
Rude	1	2	3	4	5	Polite
Phony	1	2	3	4	5	Realistic
Irritating	1	2	3	4	5	Pleasant
Convincing	1	2	3	4	5	Unconvincing
Informative	1	2	3	4	5	Uninformative
Believable	1	2	3	4	5	Unbelievable
Trustworthy	1	2	3	4	5	Untrustworthy
Annoying	1	2	3	4	5	Unannoying
Noisy	1	2	3	4	5	Quiet
Offensive	1	2	3	4	5	Inoffensive

4. Please rate your satisfaction with the price you paid for your new car.

____ VERY SATISFIED

____ MOSTLY SATISFIED

____ SOMEWHAT SATISFIED AND SOMEWHAT UNSATISFIED or DON'T KNOW

____ MOSTLY UNSATISFIED

____ VERY UNSATISFIED

5. Please rate your satisfaction with the treatment you received from the salesperson or persons you dealt with at the dealership.

____ VERY SATISFIED

____ MOSTLY SATISFIED

____ SOMEWHAT SATISFIED AND SOMEWHAT UNSATISFIED or DON'T KNOW

____ MOSTLY UNSATISFIED

____ VERY UNSATISFIED

6. Have you had contact with the service department at this dealership since you purchased your car.

____ YES ____ NO

(If "YES")
How do you rate your satisfaction with the treatment you received?

____ VERY SATISFIED

____ MOSTLY SATISFIED

____ SOMEWHAT SATISFIED AND SOMEWHAT UNSATISFIED or DON'T KNOW

____ MOSTLY UNSATISFIED

____ VERY UNSATISFIED

(If "NO")
What do you believe your satisfaction will be if and when you do take your new car into that dealer's service department?

_____ VERY SATISFIED

_____ MOSTLY SATISFIED

_____ SOMEWHAT SATISFIED AND SOMEWHAT UNSATISFIED or DON'T KNOW

_____ MOSTLY UNSATISFIED

_____ VERY UNSATISFIED

7. Which phrase best describes your <u>overall satisfaction</u> with this dealer?

_____ VERY SATISFIED

_____ MOSTLY SATISFIED

_____ SOMEWHAT SATISFIED AND SOMEWHAT UNSATISFIED or DON'T KNOW

_____ MOSTLY UNSATISFIED

_____ VERY UNSATISFIED

8. When you purchase your next new car do you believe you will...

_____ Go to this dealer first and probably buy there without shopping anywhere else?

_____ Definitely include this dealership among the places where you will shop?

_____ Probably include this dealership among the places where you will shop?

_____ Probably not include this dealership among the places where you will shop?

_____ Definitely not include this dealership among the places where you will shop?

(Do not ask the next question. Check according to your best judgement.)

_____ Male

_____ Female

Finally, would you give us a little information about yourself?

What is your age? _____

What is your total HOUSEHOLD INCOME before taxes?

_____ Less than $15,000

_____ Between $15,000 and $30,000

_____ Between $30,000 and $45,000

_____ Between $45,000 and $60,000

_____ Between $60,000 and $75,000

_____ More than $75,000

What is the highest level of EDUCATION you have completed?

_____ Up to 8th grade.

_____ Some high school.

_____ High school graduate.

_____ Some college.

_____ College graduate.

_____ Advanced degree.

(Thank the person and end the interview)

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A B S T R A C T

The demand for advertising educators continues to be high, but little is known about those hired for current positions. This study surveyed 109 formal advertising programs and measured 12 demographic variables of recent hirees. Today's average advertising faculty hiree is a white male, 40, with a Ph.D. in either advertising/communications/journalism or business, and is hired from industry or from existing positions at other schools. Few new positions are being created, despite continued student growth.

BACKGROUND

To profile the demographic of today's advertising educator and see it in the context of change, it is necessary to first review the growth of advertising education, advertising programs and advertising faculty in a short historical overview.

Advertising Education

While advertising education dates back to 1893, the first course devoted exclusively to advertising was offered in 1905 at New York University (Ross 1991, p. 122). The past 85 years have seen a burgeoning growth of advertising courses and full-fledged programs. In 1926-27, 90 percent of journalism schools offered advertising courses; by 1936-37 the figure had risen to 93 percent of 32 schools (Ford 1947, p. 81). Today, it is hard to imagine any institution of higher education which does not offer at least one course specifically related to advertising, either as a topic itself or from the viewpoints of business, as an agent of cultural change, an aspect of consumer behavior, as art or graphic design, as a psychological stimuli, and so forth.

Full programs in advertising can be traced from the first known course (1905 at New York University) or the first offered advertising major at the University of Missouri in 1913 (Ross and Scheitzer 1990).

By 1990, 111 institutions had formal programs of advertising. Four decades of phenomenal growth have occurred. In 1950, the number of institutions with formal advertising programs jumped from 19 to 43; the next decade (1960) saw a growth from 43 to 59 programs; 1980 saw a jump from 64 to 90 programs; and in 1989, 111 institutions (in 43 states) were reporting full programs, an increase of 21 institutions in just one decade (Ross 1991, p. 15). The majority of this growth was in the Southeastern and Southwestern regions of the country (Ross 1991, p. 37).

Over the past 25 years, advertising programs have moved from schools of business to programs of journalism and mass communications. In 1963, 47 percent of all advertising programs were located in journalism; by 1987, the nubmer had shifted to 87 percent. Of the 35 percent of advertising programs located in schools of business in 1963, only 10 percent were still under business schools by 1987 (Ross and Schweitzer 1990). Of the 111 formal advertising programs at U.S. institutions today, 88.29 percent are situated in journalism/mass communication programs and 9.91 percent are located in business/marketing. They are labeled as either an advertising sequence, major, concentration, option, emphasis, area, or specialization, in descending order of use (Ross 1991, p. 48).

Advertising Student Enrollment

Each year, Journalism Educator has published data on the number of students enrolled in journalism programs, indicating enrollments in advertising and other disciplines in journalism programs. This

information is supplied by two Ohio University professors, Paul Peterson and, more recently, Lee Becker. Similarly, Billy I. Ross has been a co-editor of WHERE SHALL I GO TO COLLEGE TO STUDY ADVERTISING? since 1964, sharing co-editorship with Don Hileman (from 1965 to 1984) and Keith F. Johnson (1991 to current) and has reported enrollment figures from instutitions offering advertising programs (Ross and Johnson 1991).

In the 25-year-period of 1964 to 1989, undergraduate and graduate advertising student enrollment jumped 598 percent, from 3,254 students in 1964 to 22,720 students in 1989. Enrollment increased 18 percent in just one year, 1988 to 1989 (Ross 1989). Undergraduate enrollment numbers were most dramatic, accounting for a 627 percent growth from 2,968 students in 1964 to 21,563 students in 1989. Graduate-level student enrollment jumped 305 percent during the same time, from 286 graduate students in 1964 to 1,157 graduate students in 1989 (Ross 1991 p. 73). Currently, Michigan State University has both the largest of number of overall advertising students as well as the the largest undergraduate advertising enrollment (1,138); Roosevelt University has the largest number of master's students, 295.

The result of this enrollment growth has, naturally, resulted in a like growth of advertising graduates. During the same time period (1964-1989), the total nuber of students graduating with degrees in advertising increased from 1,005 to 7,391 (635 percent). Undergraduates completing their degrees increased from 908 to 6,988 (or 670 percent); graduate students completing their degrees increased from

97 to 403 (315 percent)(Ross 1991, p. 97). Only 19 doctorate degrees were conferred by programs in 1989 (Ross 1991, p. 88-92).

Advertising Faculty

Clearly, the impressive growth factors of programs and student enrollment/graduation can only be possible with commensurate growth of faculty members to service these students. As in other fields which cross academic and professional lines, advertising educators must meet the academic rigor of a university as well as have some practitioner grounding.

In 1958, Sabine surveyed 67 advertising professors in 39 institutions and reported that while slightly more than half (55.2 percent) had practitioner experience, only 25 (37 percent) had some industry management experience (Sabine 1958). The average faculty member was 43 years old, and averaged 12.5 years of teaching. Almost all (92.54 percent) held master's degrees; only 37 percent held doctoral degrees.

Allen (1960) reported on 267 teachers who taught at least one advertising course. He found that advertising faculty averaged 10.5 years of college teaching experience and averaged more than five years of advertising practitioner background.

Ross (1965) surveyed 77 institutions which employed 135 advertising faculty. A profile from this study found the typical advertising educator to be 41 years old, with 11 of 12 teaching years spent teaching advertising. Less than half (41.5 percent) held doctorates while over half (51.1 percent) held the master's degree. Assistant,

associate and full professor ranks were rather evenly distributed (25.9, 32.9 and 30.6 percent, respectively), although advertising teachers held more of the upper professorial ranks than their advertising counterparts in business programs.

In 1983, Stephens and Beltramini found advertising educators were becoming more pragmatic and were accentuating more of the advertising industry. This approach requires educators who can address industry concerns, especially management, media, and sales. Schweitzer (1988) found 62 percent of parttime faculty in 43 of 66 surveyed schools were industry professionals. Seventy percent of media instructors had an average 11 years industry experience, mostly in media.

Lancaster and Martin (1989) surveyed 77 teachers of media courses in 64 institutions. Seventy percent held doctorate degrees, while 32.8 percent held master's degrees. Six were in the process of completing their Ph.D. More recently, Lancaster, Katz and Cho (1990) reported on 283 advertising teachers of at least one advertising course and found that 69 percent had doctoral degrees and 29 percent were full professors (with 28 percent at the associate level and 28 percent at the assistant level), and 66 percent had an average industry experience of 11 years, ranging from 1 to 45 years. Over half (54 percent) were involved with advertising consulting, 57 percent were at the associate professor rank, and the average teaching experience was 11 years (ranging from six months to 41 years).

Most doctorate students enter their academic careers with some teaching experience. Sampling 53 advertising educators in 1983, Blasko

and Beltramini found that 75.6 percent of doctoral students were given teaching experience during their degree work, with 82.8 percent of those teaching undergraduate courses. However, only 21.1 percent were given instruction on how to teach before they entered the classroom. (This study, in line with a report some 14 years earlier (Wall Street Journal 1969), found the emphasis of most doctorate programs to be research-oriented.)

The purpose of this study is to build a comparable demographic profile of those individuals hired to teach advertising for the 1990-1991 academic year.

SAMPLE AND METHODOLOGY

The sample consisted of those 109 schools listed in the 1990 edition of Where Shall I Go To College to Study Advertising? (Ross 1990). The questionnaires were sent to either a specified individual or the head/dean/chairperson by title only of colleges and universities listed in the book. The booklet states that, for inclusion in the publication, an institution must have (1) a recommended sequence of courses; (2) an advertising program listed in the school catalogue; and (3) at least three specifically-titled advertising courses.

Two basic measurements were taken. First measured was the number of fulltime advertising faculty hired in the previous four years, according to academic year: 1990-1991, 1989-1990, 1988-1989, and 1987-1988.

Next, for 1990-1991 academic year faculty hirings, information was gathered concerning age, gender, race, professorial rank,

tenure-granted status, education and industry background, the hiree's last position (student, academic or industry) and whether the position filled was a new-line faculty addition or a replacement hiring. Nominal measurements were used for all data.

Of the 109 questionnaires mailed, 82 were returned; thus the survey had a 75.23 percent response rate. The data was analyzed using Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS-X 1988).

Some respondents supplied demographic information for those hired prior to the 1990-1991 academic year. However, since this information was not requested and not all schools supplied such data, only the in-depth demographic information on 1990-1991 positions was used.

RESULTS

There were 125 faculty hired to fill fulltime teaching positions since 1987; the four-year trend reflects the growth trend of advertising student enrollment. There were 21 hirings for 1987, 31 in 1988, 34 in 1989 and 39 in 1990. Frequencies of the 1990-1991 hiree demographics are shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE

Demographic Profile

In 1990, the average age of those hired was 40, accounting for 14.3 percent. The next largest percentage was 30 years (17.9 percent); other ages accounted for less than 10 percent each. Males continue to dominate advertising faculty hiring, with 61.1 percent. Minority representation was low, with only 26.6 percent of advertising faculty

member hires. A majority of hirings (52.6 percent) were at the assistant professor level; 23.7 percent at the instructor level, 18.4 percent at the associate level, and 5.3 percent at the professor level.

A solid "No Tenure" policy seems evident; only 5.4 percent of hirees were grated tenure at the time of hiring.

Doctorates and master's degrees were evenly represented (44.7 and 50.0 percent, respectively), with only 5.3 percent holding a bachelor's degree as the highest degree obtained. A wide variety of academic backgrounds have found acceptance among advertising faculty hirings. Advertising and mass communications were evenly represented (22.2 each), followed by business at 13.9 percent and journalism at 11.1 percent.

The average teaching experience among hirees was 5.9 years; 5.2 years was the average length of time spent teaching advertising. Hirees average 10.3 years experience in industry; the average number of years spend in the advertising industry was 7.7 years.

For the 1990-1991 academic year, faculty roulette provided the major source of hirings, with 44.7 percent of new hires coming from other schools, the industry supplying 31.6 percent and graduate schools accounting for only 21.1 percent of the new hires. Over 80 percent were replacment hires, with only 36 new positions (19.4 percent) being created for the academic year.

Beyond the simple demographic profile, however, further investigation of the distribution between variables found interesting results (see Table 2). This required the grouping of several

wide-ranging nominal measurements: Age (3 dimensions: under 35, 36-45, 46 or greater); Race (2 dimensions: white, minority); Academic Discipline (3 dimensions: Business/marketing, Advertising/journalism/mass communications, other). Experience was categorized as: (1) Years Teaching, (2) Years Teaching Advertising, and (3) Years in Advertising Industry (2 dimensions: 5 or less, 6 or more); and (4) Years in Industry (2 dimensions: 10 or less, 11 or more).

TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE

Hiree Age

The average age of those hired for the 1990-1991 academic year was 40 (StdDev=9.870); the mode of 30 was found in a range from 30 to 68 years-of-age. In grouped-ages, whites were more likely to be under 36; minorities were more likely to be 36-to-45. Respondents aged 36-to-45 were also more likely to be hired at the assistant level while those over 45 were more likely to be hired at the associate level. Most of those under 36 hold a master's degree (70.0 percent), with only 30.0 percent holding doctorates.

Those under 36 were more likely to hold degrees in advertising/communications/journalism, while those 36-to-45 were seldom from business (only 8.3 percent). Those over 45, however, were more likely to come from the business discipline, while those 36-to-45 were seldom from business (only 8.3 percent).

For all three age groups, most were either hired from industry or

were lured from other advertising programs. Given that only 19.4 percent of 1990-1991 hires were for new line positions, it is not surprising that all age groups are more likely to be hired for replacement positions. However, those from 36-to-45 were slightly more likely to be hired for new lines.

Hiree Gender

Only 38.9 percent of 1990-1991 hirees were female. Of those, half were 36-to-45 years of age, and 40.0 percent were under 36. Most males age 36-to-45. Almost all females were white (90.9 percent); only 9.1 percent of the women were minorities. Males were also more likely to be white. Females, like males, were more likely to be hired at the assistant rank, followed by the instructor level. No females were hired at the professor rank; only 9.1 percent of the males were hired at the professor rank. Females were more likely to hold master's degrees (78.6 percent), followed by a Ph.D. (14.3 percent). Most males held doctorates (63.6 percent), and 31.8 percent held a master's. Both genders were more likely to come from the advertising/communication/journalism disciplines (47.6 percent males, 64.3 percent females). While 23.8 percent of the males came from the business discipline, more females than males came from advertising/communication/journalism.

Both males and females were more likely to come from existing teaching positions and were more likely to be hired to fill existing positions.

Hiree Race

Minorities were under-represented in 1990-1991 hiring. Blacks

accounted for 13.3 percent; Hispanics, 3.3 percent; other, 10.0 percent. All minorities were under the age of 46; most were between the ages of 36-to-45. Half of the whites were under 36 years of age; more white females were hired than minority females. Minorities were hired most as the assistant level (75.0 percent), with 25.0 percent at the instructor level; no minorities were hired above the assistant level. No minorities were hired with tenure (however, only two hirees of the total sample reported obtaining tenure at the point of hiring). Most minorities held the doctorate (62.5 percent), while most whites held the M.A. (63.6 percent).

Over half (57.1 percent) of minorities held degrees in the advertising/communications/journalism discipline, with 14.3 percent coming from the business discipline, while 54.5 percent of the whites came from advertising/communications/journalism and 31.8 percent from business.

Reflecting overall hiring trends, minorities came from industry or other schools. Most whites (52.4 percent) came from other teaching positions or from industry (28.6 percent). Minorities were more likely to be hired for new line positions (37.5 percent for minorities to 19.0 percent for whites).

Hiree Rank

Overall, the majority of 1990-1991 hirees were hired at the assistant rank (52.6 percent); 23.7 percent were at the instructor rank. Only 5.3 percent were hired at the professor rank.

Older hirees were, naturally, more likely to be hired for higher

ranks. Instructor, assistant and associate hirees were almost evenly divided between male and female. No females were hired at the professor rank.

No minority was hired at a rank above assistant. Of those hired with tenure, only one hired at the assistant rank and one at the professor rank were granted tenure.

The master's degree accounted for 77.8 percent of the instructor ranks, while the doctorate accounted for 71.4 percent of the professor's ranks. All those hired at the professor rank held doctorates.

For instructor and assistant ranks, the majority came from the advertising/communications/journalism discipline. More associates came from fields other than communications or business (71.4 percent).

Instructor ranks came mostly from the industry (87.5 percent), while assistant and associate ranks came from other schools.

Hiree Tenure

Given that only 5.4 percent of the sample were granted tenure, it was hard to gain valid analysis of the demographic variables. Those gaining tenure at the hiring point held doctorates, were from a communications discipline, and half were from graduate schools; the other half were teaching at other schools when they were hired. All were replacement positions.

Hiree Education

In 1990, 50.0 percent of those hired held a master's degree; 44.7 percent held a doctorate. Most M.A.s were held by those under 36; most

Ph.D.s were 36-to-45. Females were more likely to hold the M.A.; males were more likely to hold the Ph.D. More of the minorities held Ph.D.s than the M.A. Those with doctorates were less likely to be from business than other disciplines. Those with master's degrees were more likely to come from other schools (50.0 percent) or from the industry (44.4 percent); those with doctorates were more likely to come from other schools (47.1 percent) or from graduate school (41.2 percent). Only 22.2 percent of the master's and 17.6 percent of the doctorates were hired to fill new positions.

Hiree Degree Discipline

Advertising and communications disciplines each accounted for 22.2 percent of those hired in 1990-1991; 13.9 percent came from business and 11.1 percent came from journalism. Those from the business discipline were more likely to be under 36 or over 45 (85.8 percent combined). Communications was about evenly split between genders (52.6 male, 47.4 percent female); communications also accounted for 75.0 percent of white hirees. Business accounted for 12.5 percent of minorities. Those from communications and business were more likely to be hired as assistant professors (55.0 percent and 75.0 percent, respectively); while those from other disciplines were more likely to be hired at the associate level (62.5 percent). Business and communications were more likely to hold the M.A., while other disciplines were more likely to hold the Ph.D. (87.5 percent).

Hiree Origin

The term faculty roulette is the most apt description of where

advertising educators come from; they come from other teaching positions at other schools. For the 1990-1991 academic year, 44.7 percent of all new hires came from other teaching positions; 31.6 percent came from industry jobs. Only 21.1 percent came from graduate schools. The majority of those coming from graduate school or from other positions were 36-to-45 years old; those from industry were evenly split between under 35 (41.7 percent) and 36-to-45 years old (41.7 percent). Regardless of where they came from, the majority were white males, with industry people more likely to be hired for instructor positions and those from graduate schools and other teaching positions more likely to be hired for assistant ranks. Industry people were more likely to hold the M.A., graduate school hirees more likely to hold the Ph.D., and those from other teaching positions were evenly split between M.A. and Ph.D. The majority of them held degrees in advertising/communication/journalism and were hired as replacements for existing positions.

Job Line Status

Faculty roulette is again strong, with 80.6 percent of 1990-1991 hires replacing lost faculty and only 19.4 percent filling newly-created jobs. Whether hired for old or new positions, the majority were 36-to-45 year old white males, with existing positions being filled at the assistant rank and new positions mostly filled at the instructor rank (although those hired for new positions at the assistant and associate levels combined constituted 57.2 percent). Most of those hired for new positions held the M.A.; those hired for

existing positions were split at 48.3 percent with their M.A. and 48.3 percent with their Ph.D. Most of those hired for existing positions came from the advertising/communications/journalism discipline while most of those hired for new positions were more likely to come from a discipline other than business or communications. While most of those hired for existing positions were more likely to come from other teaching positions, those hired for new positions were hired mostly from industry.

Years of Teaching Experience

Generic Teaching The average number of years of overall teaching experience was 5.93, in a range of 1 to 23 years (mode=5; std. dev.=5.607; n=30). As might be expected, the majority of those with less than five years teaching experience were also under 45; those with six or more years teaching experience were 46 and over (see Table 3).

Males had more teaching experience; more males than females had less than five years or six or more years. The same was true for race: More whites had been teaching less than five years and more whites had been teaching for six or more years.

TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE

Those who had been teaching for less than five years were more likely to be hired at the assistant rank; those who had been teaching six or more years were more likely to be hired at the instructor rank (although 50.0 percent of those teaching six or more years were hired at the associate or professor level, combined).

A majority of those who had been teaching for less than five years held the master's, while those with six or more years teaching experience held the doctorate. Those from advertising/communications/journalism discipline were more likely to have five or less years teaching experience, while those with the doctorate were more likely to have six or more years experience.

Most of those with less than five years teaching experience came from teaching positions at other schools; those with six or more years overall teaching experience were found to have come from the industry.

Advertising Teaching Those hired for 1990-1991 had an average 5.23 years of advertising teaching experience, ranging from 1 to 23 years (mode=2; std. dev.=5.557; n=30). The same backgrounds were evident for specific years of teaching advertising as those for overall teaching. Those with less than five years were more likely to be 36-to-45 years old, white, male, hired at the assistant rank, hold the M.A. in advertising/communications/journalism, come from another teaching position, and were hired as a replacement. Those with six or more years advertising teaching were more likely to be 46 years or older white males, but were evenly distributed among hiring ranks, with 28.6 percent each hired at the instructor, associate, and professor ranks. Most of them held the Ph.D. in the advertising/communications/journalism field, and had been hired from another school.

Overall Work Experience The average number of work experience years was 10.33, in a range of 1 to 29 years (mode=7; std. dev.=8.805; n=18). Those who had worked in industry for less than 10 years were

evenly split between two age groups, those under 36 and those 36-to-45 (45.5 percent each). They were more likely to be white males, hired at the assistant rank, and hold a masters. They came from the advertising/communications/journalism discipline, and were hired from another teaching position.

Those who had 11 or more years in the workplace were more likely to be white males over the age of 45, hired at the assistant or associate rank, and hold a master's degree. However, they were evenly split between business and other disciplines; none were from the advertising/communications/journalism discipline. Few (20 percent) came from graduate schools; the rest came from industry or from another teaching position (40 percent each).

Adverising Work Experience Those with advertising-specific work experience averaged 7.68 years, ranging from 1 to 20 years (mode=3; std. dev.=5.955; n=22). Those with five or fewer years experience in the advertising industry were more likely to be white males, under 36, hired at the assistant rank. Half held the M.A., and half held the Ph.D. They were hired from another teaching position and held degrees in the advertising/communications/journalism discipline.

For those with six or more years of advertising industry experience, the majority were white males, 36-to-45 years old, hired at the assistant rank. They held their master's degree, came from the business discipline, and were hired from the industry.

CONCLUSIONS

There are several findings from this study which could help guide

those charged with hiring advertising educators in the next decade.

Perhaps the most glaring finding is the low representation of females among hirings, especially given that most advertising courses tend to be heavily female populated. The same holds true for minorities. These two areas must be addressed in future hirings. And those females hired need to have more teaching and industry background, as more females than males have lower levels of teaching and industry experience.

The results of this study also indicate that faculty roulette is strong among advertising educators, and that new line positions are not being created. Given the increasing enrollment of advertising students, academe will have to adjust to handle the class loads. Schools in need of advertising faculty are turning to other institutions for recruitment while, at the same time, they are in danger of losing their existing advertising faculty, who are being lured away by other schools.

Finding replacements not only further exacerbates the exercise of faculty roulette, but places more importance on recruiting at the graduate school level -- which, unfortunately, is not providing enough graduates to advertising education. An effort needs to be undertaken to attract those with doctorates to enter advertising education; only eight did so last year, which is 25.81 percent of the 21 who were granted the doctorate in schools of journalism in 1989 (Ross 1991). It is anticipated that the majority of those 382 students now in graduate school will not provide enough classroom reserves for the number of

positions likely to occur.

Advertising faculty in the United States is also growing older; this survey found that even the average hiring age was 40; and 32.2 percent of those hired were over the age of 40 -- including 14.3 percent over the age of 50. If the lack of younger people entering advertising education continues even at its current rate, advertising faculty may well become an endangered species. This does not bode well given the increasing trend in enrollment.

Other implications can be drawn from this study. The doctorate, as an employment prerequisite, has increased in importance. In 1964, Allen found 20.42 percent of advertising principles teachers held the Ph.D.; in 1965, Ross found 41.5 percent held the doctorate. In 1990, 44.7 percent of those hired held the Ph.D.

Given that position postings today all but mandate a Ph.D. or A.B.D., the doctorate-as-union-card will continue to become a priority requirement among advertising educators. This will also impact those in the industry who may wish to enter academe. Should they hold only a master's degree, they may re-think entering advertising education if it would mean three-to-six years of graduate school first.

Yet the desire for industry experience continues unabated. In 1965, the average number of work experience years of an advertising educator was five (Ross 1965); advertising educators hired for the current academic year averaged 10.3 years industry experience. Conversley, the number of years of teaching experience has declined from an average 11.4 in 1964 (Allen 1964) to 5.23 for those hired for

the 1990-1991 academic year. How academe can find candidates with doctorates, with years of advertising education experience, and with years of industry experience to fill position openings seems a onerous task.

And the need for these candidates is increasing. This study did not measure the number of actual positions available; only those openings filled. Several respondents indicated that they had not been able to fill open positions. In 1988, Ross found 63 positions open in major advertising programs; two years later, this study finds only 39 people hired. Given that growing enrollment increases demand for educators, criteria for hiring may have to change as there may not be enough candidates with the criteria specified above. Having the doctorate degree, or the number of years of teaching or industry experience, may have to be adjusted to provide a pool of potential candidates for the openings being created due to enrollment figures.

Advertising education continues to grow on college campuses in the U.S. As fewer new teachers are entering academe, or the criteria reduces the number of those with desirable qualifications, institutions are forced to rely more on luring faculty from other schools to fill vacant positions.

Thus, with student enrollment growing, fewer people entering advertising education, and fewer new positions being created, a heavier load on existing faculty might well be forecast for the next decade.

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Table 1
Raw Frequencies of 1990-1991 Advertising Faculty Hirings (Overall n=39)

Age:	Freq	Percent
<35	10	35.7
36-45	13	46.4
>46	5	17.9
(n=28)		

Gender:	Freq	Percent
Male	22	61.1
Female	14	38.9
(n=36)		

Race:	Freq	Percent
White	22	73.3
Black	4	13.3
Hispanic	1	3.3
Other	3	10.0
(n=30)		

Rank:	Freq	Percent
Instructor	9	23.7
Assistant	20	52.6
Associate	7	18.4
Professor	2	5.3
(n=38)		

Origin of Hiree:	Freq	Percent
Industry	12	31.6
Graduate School	8	21.1
Another School	17	44.7
Other	1	2.6
(n=38)		

Tenure Granting:	Freq	Percent
Yes	2	5.4
No	35	94.6
(n=37)		

Education:	Freq	Percent
Bachelor	2	5.3
Master	19	50.0
Doctorate	17	44.7
(n=38)		

Degree Discipline:	Freq	Percent
Journalism	4	11.1
Business	5	13.9
Communications	8	22.2
Advertising	8	22.2
Speech	2	5.6
Marketing	3	8.3
Education	3	8.3
Other	3	8.3
(n=36)		

Faculty Line Status:	Freq	Percent
Replacement	29	80.6
New Line	7	19.4
(n=36)		

Overall Teach		
Yrs	Freq	Percent
1	2	6.7
2	6	20.0
3	5	16.7
4	2	6.7
5	7	23.3
7	3	10.0
10	1	3.3
15	1	3.3
17	1	3.3
20	1	3.3
23	1	3.3
(n=30)		

Advertising Teach		
Yrs	Freq	Percent
1	3	10.0
2	10	33.3
3	4	13.3
4	1	3.3
5	5	16.7
7	2	6.7
9	1	3.3
10	1	3.3
17	1	3.3
20	1	3.3
23	1	3.3
(n=30)		

Overall Industry		
Yrs	Freq	Percent
1	2	11.1
3	1	5.6
4	2	11.1
5	1	5.6
7	3	16.7
8	2	11.1
9	1	5.6
10	1	5.6
11	1	5.6
20	1	5.6
25	1	5.6
27	1	5.6
29	1	5.6
(n=18)		

Advertising Industry		
Yrs	Freq	Percent
1	1	4.5
2	3	13.6
3	4	18.2
4	1	4.5
5	3	13.6
7	1	4.5
8	1	4.5
10	2	9.1
12	1	4.5
14	1	4.5
15	2	9.1
20	2	9.1
(n=22)		

Table 2
Percentages by category (overall n=39)

	Age			Gender		Race		Rank			
	<35	36-45	>46	Male	Female	White	Minor	Inst	Asst	Assoc	Prof
Age:											
<35				60.0	40.0	80.0	20.0	40.0	50.0	10.0	0.0
36-45				61.5	38.5	44.9	55.6	23.1	61.5	15.4	0.0
>46				80.0	20.0	100.0	0.0	20.0	20.0	40.0	20.0
Gender:											
Male	33.3	44.4	22.2			63.2	36.8	22.7	50.0	18.2	9.1
Fem	40.0	50.0	10.0			90.9	9.1	28.6	50.0	21.4	0.0
Race:											
White	50.0	25.0	25.0	54.5	45.5			22.7	45.5	22.7	9.1
Minor	28.6	71.4	0.0	87.5	12.5			25.0	75.0	0.0	0.0
Rank:											
Inst	50.0	37.5	12.5	55.6	44.4	71.4	28.6				
Asst	35.7	57.1	7.1	61.1	38.9	62.5	37.5				
Assc	20.0	40.0	40.0	57.1	42.9	100.0	0.0				
Prof	0.0	0.0	100.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0				
Tenure:											
Yes	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	50.0	0.0	50.0
No	37.0	44.4	18.5	60.6	39.4	72.4	27.6	25.7	51.4	20.0	2.9
Education:											
BA	0.0	100.0	0.0	50.0	50.0	0.0	100.0	50.0	50.0	0.0	0.0
MA	46.7	33.3	20.0	38.9	61.1	87.5	12.5	36.8	52.6	10.5	0.0
PhD	27.3	54.5	18.2	87.5	12.5	61.5	38.5	5.9	52.9	29.4	11.8
Degree Field:											
Bus	42.9	14.3	42.9	62.5	37.5	87.5	12.5	0.0	75.0	12.5	12.5
Comm	46.2	46.2	7.7	52.6	47.4	75.0	25.0	35.0	55.0	5.0	5.0
Oth	14.3	71.4	14.3	75.0	25.0	60.0	40.0	25.0	12.5	62.5	0.0
Hired From:											
Indus	41.7	41.7	16.7	58.3	41.7	66.7	33.3	58.3	33.3	8.3	0.0
Grad	25.0	50.0	25.0	85.7	14.3	66.7	33.3	0.0	87.5	12.5	0.0
Other	33.3	50.0	16.7	56.3	43.8	78.6	21.4	5.9	52.9	29.4	11.8
Job Line:											
Old	35.0	45.0	20.0	63.0	37.0	77.3	22.7	17.2	58.6	17.2	6.9
New	33.3	50.0	16.7	57.1	42.9	57.1	42.9	42.9	28.6	28.6	0.0

(Continued)

Table 2
Percentages by category (overall n=39)

	Tenure		Education			Degree Field			Hired From			Job Line	
	Tenure	No Tenure	BA	MA	PhD	Business	Communication	Other	Industry	Grad Schl	Oth Schl	Replacement	New Line
Age:													
<35	100.0	0.0	0.0	70.0	30.0	30.0	60.0	10.0	50.0	10.0	40.0	77.8	22.2
36-45	100.0	0.0	15.4	38.5	46.2	8.3	50.0	41.7	38.5	15.4	46.2	75.0	25.0
>46	100.0	0.0	0.0	60.0	40.0	60.0	20.0	20.0	40.0	20.0	40.0	80.0	20.0
Gender:													
Male	9.1	90.9	4.5	31.8	63.6	23.8	47.6	28.6	31.8	27.3	40.9	81.0	19.0
Fem	0.0	100.0	7.1	78.6	14.3	21.4	64.3	14.3	38.5	7.7	53.8	76.9	23.1
Race:													
White	4.5	95.5	0.0	63.6	36.4	31.8	54.5	13.6	28.6	19.0	52.4	81.0	19.0
Minor	0.0	100.0	12.5	25.0	62.5	14.3	57.1	28.6	37.5	25.0	37.5	62.5	37.5
Rank:													
Inst	0.0	100.0	11.1	77.8	11.1	0.0	77.8	22.2	87.5	0.0	12.5	62.5	37.5
Asst	5.3	94.7	5.0	50.0	45.0	33.3	61.1	5.6	20.0	35.0	45.0	89.5	10.5
Assc	0.0	100.0	0.0	28.6	71.4	14.3	14.3	71.4	14.3	14.3	71.4	71.4	28.6
Prof	50.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	50.0	50.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	100.0	0.0
Tenure:													
Yes			0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	50.0	50.0	100.0	0.0
No			2.9	54.3	42.9	24.2	51.5	24.2	32.4	20.6	47.1	79.4	20.6
Education:													
BA	0.0	100.0				0.0	100.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	0.0
MA	0.0	100.0				29.4	64.7	5.9	44.4	5.6	50.0	77.8	22.2
PhD	11.8	88.2				17.6	41.2	41.2	11.8	41.2	47.1	82.4	17.6
Degree Field:													
Bus	0.0	100.0	0.0	62.5	37.5				37.5	12.5	50.0	87.5	12.5
Comm	10.5	89.5	10.0	55.0	35.0				31.6	31.6	36.8	88.9	11.1
Oth	0.0	100.0	0.0	12.5	87.5				37.5	12.5	50.0	62.5	37.5
Hired From:													
Indus	0.0	100.0	16.7	66.7	16.7	25.0	50.0	25.0				60.0	40.0
Grad	12.5	87.5	0.0	12.5	87.5	12.5	75.0	12.5				100.0	0.0
Other	5.9	94.1	0.0	52.9	47.1	26.7	46.7	26.7				88.2	11.8
Job Line:													
Old	6.9	93.1	3.4	48.3	48.3	25.0	57.1	17.9	20.7	27.6	51.7		
New	0.0	100.0	0.0	57.1	42.9	16.7	33.3	50.0	66.7	0.0	33.3		

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Table 3
Percent of Years of Background Experience (Overall n=39)

	Teaching		Teach Advertising		Working		Work Advertising	
	LT/Equal 5 Years	GT/Equal 6 Years	LT/Equal 5 Years	GT/Equal 6 Years	LT/Equal 10 Years	GT/Equal 11 Years	LT/Equal 5 Years	GT/Equal 6 Years
Age:								
Under 36 (%)	43.8	16.7	37.5	20.0	45.5	0.0	62.5	10.0
36-to-45 (%)	50.0	33.3	56.3	20.0	45.5	40.0	37.5	50.0
46 & Over (%)	6.3	50.0	6.3	60.0	9.1	60.0	0.0	40.0
Gender:								
Males (%)	60.0	75.0	57.1	71.4	53.8	60.0	58.3	70.0
Females (%)	40.0	25.0	42.9	28.6	46.2	40.0	41.7	30.0
Race:								
White (%)	66.7	85.7	73.7	85.7	84.6	75.0	81.8	77.8
Minority (%)	33.3	14.3	26.3	14.3	15.4	25.0	18.2	22.2
Rank:								
Instructor (%)	18.2	37.5	21.7	28.6	30.8	20.0	25.0	20.0
Assistant (%)	68.2	12.5	65.2	14.3	61.5	40.0	58.3	50.0
Associate (%)	13.6	25.0	13.0	28.6	0.0	40.0	8.3	20.0
Professor (%)	0.0	25.0	0.0	28.6	7.7	0.0	8.3	10.0
Tenure:								
Tenure (%)	0.0	12.5	0.0	14.3	0.0	0.0	16.7	0.0
No Tenure (%)	100.0	87.5	100.0	85.7	100.0	100.0	83.3	100.0
Education:								
Bachelor's (%)	4.5	0.0	4.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	10.0
Master's (%)	54.5	37.5	56.5	42.9	61.5	80.0	50.0	60.0
Doctorate (%)	40.9	62.5	39.1	57.1	38.5	20.0	50.0	30.0
Degree Field:								
Business (%)	30.0	25.0	28.6	28.6	38.5	50.0	16.7	50.0
Comm. (%)	60.0	25.0	57.1	42.9	53.8	0.0	75.0	20.0
Other (%)	10.0	50.0	14.3	28.6	7.7	50.0	8.3	30.0
Hired From:								
Industry (%)	28.6	25.0	31.8	14.3	33.3	40.0	25.0	50.0
Grad School (%)	28.6	12.5	27.3	14.3	8.3	20.0	25.0	20.0
Other Job (%)	42.9	12.5	40.9	71.4	58.3	40.0	50.0	30.0
Job Line:								
Replacement (%)	85.7	87.5	86.4	85.7	84.6	60.0	91.7	80.0
New Line (%)	14.3	12.5	13.6	14.3	15.4	40.0	8.3	20.7

# # #

A PROPOSED POLICY FRAMEWORK FOR THE PRESENTATION OF FOOD ADVERTISING ON CHILDREN'S TELEVISION IN AMERICA

Submitted to the Special Topics Division of the 1991 AEJMC

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The pervasive use of television in American society has fueled much controversial opinion about the influence of television viewing on the public. The issue of children's television has been in the midst of the controversy, with much attention paid to television advertising directed at children. On policy issues, the Supreme Court has had little direct involvement with children's advertising, deferring most decisions to the FCC (Federal Communications Commission) and the FTC (Federal Trade Commission). The Supreme Court's decisions on more general commercial speech issues have been notoriously varied, thus, the regulation of children's advertising has been allowed to wallow in a gray area of First Amendment protection, with arguments coming from all sides.

This paper proposes the implementation of a "balance policy" in the presentation of food advertisements directed at children. This proposal advocates that commercials for food products high in sugar, sodium and fat content aired during children's programs be balanced, on a one-to-one ratio, with food products higher in nutritional value. Unlike many proposals to regulate children's advertising, which focus on content control or prohibition of specific commercials, the policy proposed herein focuses on modifying the traffic (commercial scheduling) functions of broadcasters. The proposed framework would utilize a time, place and manner construct to air commercials during children's programs on traditional broadcast and advertiser-supported cable television channels.

To illustrate how the "ad balance" policy would work:
-Broadcasters could air commercials up to the time limits currently specified by law during children's programs.
-Broadcast traffic departments would receive information on advertised food products categorizing such foods as "low" or "high" in nutritional value based on a federal standard.
-Commercials featuring food products classified "low" on the nutritional scale would be "balanced" with food products classified "high" on the nutritional scale during the same 30-minute time period. Thus, 10 commercials for foods rated low in nutritional value would be balanced with 10 commercials for foods rated high in nutritional value during each half-hour time block during children's programming.
-When broadcasters' inventories of paid commericials featuring foods "low" in nutritional value exceed those commercials featuring foods "high" in nutritional value, broadcasters would have to substitute public service messages promoting good nutrition in the designated commercial slots. For example, assume the NBC network has ten minutes of commercial time available during the hour-long "Smurfs" cartoon program on a Saturday morning, allowing for the insertion of 20 30-second spots. Perhaps 6 of the of the slots are committed to toy advertisers. If 7 additional spots were purchased by food advertisers featuring products classified "low" in nutritional value, the 7 remaining spots scheduled would have to feature foods classified "high" in nutritional value or public service announcements promoting good nutrition during the program. Ads

featuring low nutrition foods beyond the seventh spot, in this example, would have to be shifted into another half-hour time block and "balanced" accordingly.

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF THE CHILDREN'S ADVERTISING CONTROVERSY

Concerns about children's advertising escalated and peaked during the 1970's and early 1980's. Public interest groups became vocal and sought increased regulation of children's advertising. For example, Action for Children's Television (ACT) proposed a total ban on advertising directed at children, citing allegedly harmful effects on children. In response to public concern, both the FCC and the FTC launched extensive investigations into children's programming and advertising. In 1974, the FCC issued its Children's Television Report and Policy Statement which encouraged the adoption of programming and advertising guidelines by the NAB (National Association of Broadcasters) and the INTV (Association of Independent Television Stations). A few of the suggested guidelines were (1):

-Children must be able to distinguish between program and commercial material;

-Audio/visual techniques should not distort product performance;

-Program characters should not appear in commercials;

-Food advertisements should not promote poor nutrition;

-Food ads should not be aimed at preschoolers;

-Ads for over-the-counter drugs aimed at children were prohibited;

-Ads depicting unsafe or violent acts were prohibited.

Any adherence to the guidelines by advertisers and broadcasters was voluntary. Today, most of these guidelines, with the exceptions of ads promoting over-the-counter drugs and unsafe/violent acts, are minimally observed.

In 1978, the FTC began its own rulemaking proceedings in response to consumer petitions. Action for Children's Television and the Center for Science in the Public Interest specifically requested new guidelines to regulate candy and sugared food ads. A February 1978 report by the FTC staff concluded that there was sufficient evidence to suggest, among other items, that advertising of sugared products to children of all ages may be unfair and deceptive within the meaning of Section 5 of the FTC Act, thus requiring appropriate remedy. According to the FTC, the only appropriate remedy for the sugared food ads directed at children was to prohibit such ads entirely. This proposed ban was called "impractical" (2) by the FTC. Hearings on the children's advertising issue continued to be characterized by vigorous debate about legal concerns and disputes over the empirical research findings. Then, in October 1981, unwilling to commit additional resources to debate and research on the issue, the FTC terminated the rulemaking proceedings saying they were "not in the public interest" (3).

The termination of the FTC's rulemaking proceedings, coupled with the "deregulatory mood" (4) advanced by the Reagan administration, seemed to many to be the "kiss of death" on advancement of policy on children's television. Although some attempts at regulation continued, both the FCC and the FTC

embarked on a program of general deregulation during the 1980's. For example, in August 1984, the FCC eliminated quantitative commercialization guidelines for television broadcasters, leaving this function to industry self-regulation and suggesting that "commercial levels will be effectively regulated by marketplace forces" (5).

Presently, the children's advertising issue remains a vital concern to the public and to policy makers. In June 1988, the U.S. House of Representatives passed a bill titled "The Children's Television Practices Act of 1988" (H.R. 3966) which restricts the number of minutes of advertising allowed during children's programs to 10 minutes on weekends and 12 minutes on weekdays, per hour of programming. This bill also ties broadcast license renewal to compliance with the commercialization rules and to stations' inclusion of educational programs for children.

SUPPORTING ARGUMENTS FOR THE "BALANCING" OF FOOD ADS DURING CHILDREN'S PROGRAMMING

The primary objective of the proposed "ad balance" policy is to heighten children's awareness of alternative food choices via advertising messages. Referring to policy and behavioral literature, arguments supporting the "ad balance" policy will be advanced. These arguments will demonstrate:

1) the proposal is not contrary to First Amendment principles;
2) the proposed implementation of policy is the least restrictive alternative for meeting the stated objective;
3) the proposal advances a substantial government interest.

First Amendment Issues

Attempts at regulating the content of advertising directed at children are often defeated by First Amendment arguments on rights to free speech. The proposed policy is not concerned with altering the content of any existing or future commercials for food products. Rather, this proposal seeks to stimulate increased exposure of a variety of food products toward children, so that child viewers become more acutely aware of alternatives to the typical fare promoted via commercials today. Thus, the "ad balance" policy proposed is supported by the "marketplace of ideas" interpretation of the First Amendment advocated by Justice Holmes (6). This marketplace theory purports that the First Amendment protects and encourages speech so that ideas may freely enter the public domain where people can pick and choose from these ideas. The policy suggested herein is consistent with the marketplace of ideas theory since it encourages a multiplicity of ideas via competing speech. The policy does not advocate content regulation of any ads which may feature foods high in sugar, sodium or fat, but instead encourges the advertising of alternative food choices so that more "ideas" about other available foods reach children via television.

A primary assumption of the marketplace of ideas theory is that there will be a sufficient number of speakers so that all relevant ideas will reach the public forum. The concept of a sufficient number of speakers is not necessarily applicable to the world of modern advertising since many potential speakers

cannot finance access to commercial airwaves. The reality is that the vast majority of advertising aimed at children is controlled by a relatively small number of corporations who promote a narrow range of products to children, largely featuring sugary, salty and fatty foods (7). Thus, some policy, such as that advanced in this paper, would facilitate an increase in the number of speakers and/or messages that enter into the public domain via advertising.

A Least Restrictive Alternative

A time, place and manner construct is justifiable in implementation of the "ad balance" policy durung children's programming since 1) audiences of children are most concentrated during children's programming time blocks and 2) the construct is a less restrictive alternative to more burdensome regulation, such as prohibition of food ads aimed at children.

According to A.C. Nielsen, children aged two to five view an average of 27.09 hours of television per week, while children aged six to eleven see about 24.50 hours of television weekly; 40-50% of this viewing is during clusters of children's programming (8). These program clusters, known as "kiddie blocks" in the advertising industry, are generally aired on Saturday mornings and and weekdays between 7-9 a.m. and from 3-6 p.m. (EST) on weekdays. The "ad balance" policy would be in effect only during children's programs.

A key point expressed by the Supreme Court in speech regulation is that such regulation be the least restrictive alternative. Time, place and manner constructs on speech policy

often serve the "least restrictive" end. In the Virginia Pharmacy case on commercial speech, the Supreme Court said, "We have often approved (time, place and manner restrictions on speech) provided that they are justified without reference to the content of the regulated speech, that they serve a significant government interest, and that in doing so they leave open ample alternative channels for communication of the information" (9). The policy in question is within the Supreme Court's parameters for justification of time, place and manner restriction since it does not advocate content control of individual commercials; it advances a substantial government interest by promoting nutritional alternatives for children; and it leaves ample alternatives for communication of advertising messages during broadcast dayparts featuring other than children's programming.

Advancement of "Substantial Interest" Concept

Support for the "ad balance" policy also resides in the concept of the advancement of a substantial government interest. The policy proposed advances a substantial government interest by advocating the promotion of more healthy food choices toward children and encouraging improved eating habits and nutrition. By adopting this policy, the government would actively support the good health and nutrition of the nation's children.

Policy in the United States has traditionally entitled children to special protection in such areas as torts, contracts and criminal law. The Supreme Court has recognized the relatively vulnerable status of children in constitutional contexts as well. For example, in FTC v. Keppel and Brothers, Inc., the Court

emphasized that children were a special class of consumers "unable to protect themselves" (10). In Prince v. Massachusetts, the Court upheld a statute restricting children's involvement in commerce, explaining, "state authority over children's activities is broader than that over like actions of adults" (11). In FCC v. Pacifica Foundation, the Court advocated a time, place and manner restriction on broadcasts containing so-called "dirty words" so that such language be aired during times when "the least number of unsupervised children would be exposed to it" (12). In Action for Children's Television v. FCC, the Court said "the FCC acted arbitrarily and capriciously by eliminating commercialization guidelines for children's television without demonstrating that its long-standing policies concerning children's television and marketplace forces were no longer valid" (13). Agreeing with past FCC rationale for rulemaking in the area of children's television, the Court said, "Kids are different. The Commission cannot now cavalierly revoke its special policy for youngsters" (14). The preceding cases illustrate the high degree of "special" protection the Supreme Court extends to children.

The argument that promotion of good nutrition advances a substantial government interest is supported by health and behavioral research. Health practitioners generally agree that heavy consumption of foods high in sugar, sodium and fat content increase the liklihood of the development of hypertension, heart disease, diabetes, overweight, and certain cancers in individuals (15). The dental industry recognizes that plaque, a colorless

film of bacteria on the teeth, feeds on sugar and subsequently produces an acid which causes tooth decay (16). Thus, dentists label heavily advertised products such as candy, cookies, presweetened cereals, sugar-sweetened gum and carbonated beverages as "decay-promoting" (17). In 1981, the U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA) launched a "sodium education" program to "foster public understanding" of the dangers of excessive sodium consumption to personal health and advocated a reduction of sodium intake in the "national diet" (18).

Several content analyses have looked at television advertisements directed at children. A study conducted in 1988 indicated that 71% of the advertisements aired during Saturday morning children's programming on the three major networks were for food products (19). The same analysis showed that 34% of the food advertisements featured sugared snacks such as candy and cookies; 31% featured primarily presweetened breakfast cereals; 13% featured canned foods and frozen dinners, often high in sodium and fat content (20). An earlier investigation of food advertisements aimed at children indicated a significant number of ads for fast food establishments featuring foods high in sugar, fat and sodium content (21).

Food products advertised to children are rarely promoted on the basis of nutritional value, but rather on the basis of "sweet taste", "chewiness", "crunchiness" or the implication that the food is somehow "fun" to eat (22). The exception to this rule is breakfast cereal, often promoted with the phrase "part of a nutritious breakfast" (23). More often however, the use of

music, catchy phrases and cartoon figures appeal to the child while nutritional claims are excluded in commercials.

Behavioral research on the effects of television advertising on children has indicated several conclusions as to how children respond to the food ads directed at them. Children have been shown to believe the product claims about advertised foods (24). Product claims concerning good taste, sweet taste, and the offer of premiums were found to be appealing to children, moreso than nutritional claims (25). Although some children do not understand the nutritional claims made in ads, the phrase "part of a nutritious breakfast" used in cereal commercials was understood by the majority of children who participated in an empirical study (26). More importantly, children's food preferences and consumption have been shown to positively correlate to their exposure of foods advertised on television; children who are heavier viewers of television report greater consumption of advertised foods than children who are lighter television viewers (27).

Research has indicated that although children are often not involved in actual food product purchases, they do influence food purchases and consumption. Parents report that sweet snacks and breakfast cereals, the most frequently advertised products to children, were the most frequently requested grocery items (28). Heavy viewers within all age groups requested more advertised products than their lighter viewing peers (29). Further, requests for advertised foods declined minimally as the age of the child increased (30). Many parents comply with children's

requests to buy specified products, but the requests often result in parent-child conflicts (31). Parents complain that children want the foods they see advertised on television. A diary study of parents indicated that over 27% of the requests made by children for grocery items were for candy, cereal and snack items; only 3.4% of the requests were for fruits and vegetables (32). Parents also blame television advertising for interfering with their attempts to teach good nutritional habits to children (33) and believe that television, more than any other medium, is responsible for prompting children's food requests (34).

To reiterate, the "ad balance" proposal advances a substantial government interest by advocating a policy which promotes more healthy food choices toward children.

Broadcasters' Responsibilities and Children

There is a potential argument that the proposed "ad balance" policy places significant burden on broadcasters to comply and that this burden is unfair. Some Supreme Court decisions counter this argument. The Supreme Court has determined that broadcasters, in return for a government license to utilize scarce broadcast spectrum space, make a pledge to operate in the "public interest, convenience, and necessity" (35). The proposed policy supports the public interest by encouraging the consumption of nutritious food alternatives by children. The public interest argument was further advanced by the Supreme Court in Red Lion Broadcasting v. FCC, when the court determined, "It is the right of the viewers and listeners, not the right of the broadcasters, which is paramount" (36).

PROPOSED IMPLEMENTATION OF THE "AD BALANCE" POLICY

The advancement of the "ad balance" policy requires a determination of the policy maker to whom the proposal be directed. Since the proposed policy would affect broadcasters' scheduling of commercials, it is recommended that petitions to initiate rulemaking proceedings be directed to the FCC. Because the FCC has regulatory authority over traditional broadcast and cable stations, and can exercise power over broadcasters in terms of licensing, it is deemed the most appropriate agency for advancement of the proposed policy. The FCC's Mass Media Bureau exists to advise and make recommendations to the Commission on matters regarding development of regulatory programs for broadcast services (37). Thus, this bureau should be approached in the initial petitioning process.

Although advertising practices are traditionally regulated by the FTC, the FTC is an inappropriate target for the advancement of the "ad balance" policy. First, the FTC does not have the power to renew or remove broadcast licenses as the FCC does. Second, unlike the FCC's authority to require broadcast log and ascertainment records, the FTC cannot require disclosure of information by broadcasters as a criterion for remaining operational (38). Thus, in terms of the proposed policy, the FTC's regulatory power is relatively weak. Further, rules administered by the FTC characteristically concern vague meanings - "restraint of trade, unfair acts, deceptive practices" (39). Consequently, the FTC tends to be involved in case-by-case

decisions on specifice issues. This proposal policy seeks to formulate a general rule, not to promote ad hoc decision-making.

Creation of a Standard for "Balancing" Food Advertisements

The next steps in developing the "ad balance" proposal to the rulemaking stage are 1) creation of a standard for classifying advertised foods as "low" or "high" in nutritional value and 2) establishing a set of guidelines by which broadcast traffic departments would schedule commercials during children's programs.

In order to avoid "reinventing the wheel", it is suggested that the FCC adopt the procedure for establishing food standards and borrow nutritional quality guidelines from the U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA). Under Section 401 of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act, the FDA requires the following for establishing a food standard (40):

"(a) Any petition for a food standard shall show that the proposal, if adopted, would promote honesty and fair dealing in the interest of the consumer.

(b) Any petition for a food standard shall assert that the petitioner commits himself to substantiate the information in the petition by evidence in a public hearing, if such a hearing becomes necessary.

(c) If a petitioner fails to appear, or to substantiate the information in his petition, at a public hearing on the matter, the Commission may either 1) withdraw the regulation and terminate the proceeding or 2) if he concludes that it is in accordance with the requirements of section 401 of the act,

continue the proceeding and introduce evidence to substantiate such information."

The FDA also establishes nutritional standards and regularly issues guidelines and opinions which can be adopted in classifying food products appearing in advertisements. Specifically, the FDA issues a U.S. Recommended Daily Allowance of nutrients for adults and children aged 4 and older (41):

Nutrient and unit of measurement	U.S. RDA [1]	Amount per 100 kilocalories
Protein (optional), gram (g)	[2] 65	3.25
	45	2.25
Vitamin A, international unit (UI)	5000	250
Vitamin C, milligram (mg)	60	3
Thiamine, milligram (mg)	1.5	0.075
Riboflavin, milligram (mg)	1.7	0.085
Niacin, milligram (mg)	20	1.0
Calcium, gram (g)	1	0.05
Iron, milligram (mg)	18	0.9
Vitamin D (optional), international unit (IU)	400	20
Vitamin E, international unit (IU)	30	1.5
Vitamin B-6, milligram (mg)	2	0.1
Folic acid, milligram (mg)	0.4	0.02
Vitamin B-12, microgram (mcg)	6	0.3
Phosphorus, gram (g)	1	0.05
Iodine (optional), microgram (mcg)	150	7.5
Magnesium, milligram (mg)	400	20
Zinc, milligram (mg)	15	0.75
Copper, milligram (mg)	2	0.1
Biotin, milligram (mg)	0.3	0.015
Pantothenic acid, milligram (mg)	10	0.5
Potassium, gram (g)	[3]	0.125
Manganese, milligram (mg)	[3]	0.2

[1] U.S. Recommended Daily Allowance (U.S. RDA) for adults and children 4 or more years of age.
[2] If the protein efficiency ratio of protein is equal to or better than that of casein, the U.S. RDA is 45 g.
[3] No U.S. RDA has been established for either potassium or manganese; daily dietary intakes of 2.5 g. and 4.0 mg., respectively, are based on the 1979 Recommended Dietary Allowances of the Food and Nutrition Board, National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council.

The FDA may use its Recommended Daily Allowance guide, along with other information, to assess the nutritional value of a food and determine labeling of the product. For example, if a manufacturer were to produce a type of fortified peanut butter, with nutrient qualities below those specified by the FDA, that product would have to be labeled an "imitation" peanut spread (42).

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The FDA Recommended Daily Allowance guidelines, along with information from the nutrition and dietetics industry, could be used to categorize advertised foods as well. For example, a researcher in nutrition at the University of Delaware recently analyzed foods featured in commercials aimed at children. She classified foods as "low in nutritional value" if the food was not included in at least one of the Four Food Groups (Meats, Grains, Fruits and Vegetables, and Dairy Products) or if the food contained "excessive" amounts of sugar, sodium, or fat (43). The FDA Recommended Daily Allowance guide could be used in conjunction with the University of Delaware research, to determine what constitutes "excessive" amounts of sugar, sodium and fat. From this analysis, foods could be classified into a "high" or "low" nutrition category.

The Center for Science in the Public Interest has also been involved in the nutritional classification of food products. It determines a "Gloom" rating designed to assess a food's overall nutritional value. The Gloom formula adds 1 point for every 10 grams of refined sugar; 1 point for every 100 milligrams of sodium; and 1 point per gram of fat; multiplied by a food's nutrient density, based on concentrations of protein, calcium, iron, Vitamin A and Vitamin C (44). Gloom ratings have been applied to the nutritional assessment of restaurant fast foods (See Appendix 1) but could be adopted to assess other foods as well. A Gloom rating of 25 and below indicates a nutritious food choice.

Thus, a combination of the FDA Recommended Daily Allowance guidelines, definition of inclusion in the Four Food Groups and a Gloom-type rating can be utilized as a methodology to create a standard for the assessment of advertised foods. The resulting numercial assignment could be used to classify food products in "low" or high" nutrition categories.

In establishing a set of guidelines by which broadcasters would schedule commercials during children's programs, the FCC would make broadcasters aware of the components of the new rule, if adopted, and would set up a timetable for compliance. Broadcasters would receive information on food advertisements from the FCC on a regular basis, with food product ratings indicated.

The Rulemaking Process

After the creation of a new standard for trafficking commercials during children's programs, the rulemaking process would continue, following the guidelines established by the Administrative Procedures Act, 5 USC A. 553. An original draft of the proposal would be prepared in consultation with an FCC staff member. The agency would then extend an invitation for written comment on the proposal to interested parties. The tentative rule would then be discussed at a speechmaking hearing. Notice of proposed rulemaking would appear in the Federal Register. A subsequent time period would follow allowing for resolution of issues concerning the proposed rule prior to any adoptive measures. It is important to note that tentative rules can be rejected by the agency if they are determined to be

"impracticable, unnecessary or contrary to the public interest" (45).

Subdelegation of Authority within the FCC

If the proposed policy becomes a rule, it is anticipated that its administration would require additional expertise and staffing. Thus, is it suggested that the FCC subdelegate the authority to a subordinate group established within the Mass Media Bureau. This group might be called "The Children's Television Food Advertising Review Board." This group would be responsible for:

1) classifying food products advertised to children as "low" or "high" in nutritional value;.

2) providing broadcasters with periodic lists of advertised foods and their appropriate nutritional classification;.

3) monitoring broadcast station logs for compliance with the commercial scheduling rules;

4) carrying out adjudicative procedures in cases of non-compliance.

The adjudicative process would include hearings, complaints against stations, and the levying of sanctions against non-complying stations. Sanctions would consist of 1) fines to be paid by non-complying stations and 2) threat of broadcast license non-renewal. Where fines are levied, the monies collected could be used to fund the production of public service announcements, promoting good nutrition, for airing during children's programming.

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IMPLICATIONS OF IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROPOSED RULE

It is anticipated that the "ad balance" proposal advanced herein would meet with strong opposition from the broadcast and advertising industry. Broadcasters would argue that the implementation of the rule is burdensome, forcing commercial scheduling functions to be altered, requiring re-training of traffic personnel. Further, broadcasters would claim economic injury due to the potential loss of advertising revenues when forced to air public service announcements in order to "balance" the commercial presentations.

Advertisers might argue that restrictions on the scheduling of comercials, due to the "balance" objective, would create difficulties in efficiently acheiving desired rating point levels against demographically selected child audiences. Large advertisers might also fear losing market share to competitive interests as a result of lost dominance of commercial time during children's programming.

Both broadcasters and advertisers would cry that the policy represents a departure from the more recent "deregulatory" characteristic of the FCC which stressed control of advertising levels and content by market forces. Former FCC Chairman Mark Fowler is credited with leading the agency's pro-industry activities during the 1980s (46). Despite his program of general deregulation, Fowler, in a 1982 speech said, "when deregulation is not yet possible...or when competition is imperfect beyond the FCC's control, the FCC is committed to regulatory improvements

and measures that promote development of competition" (47). Thus, even a Mark Fowler might see that the "ad balance" proposal developed herein seeks to increase competition in the marketplace by offering alternative views to the status quo.

CONCLUSION

The key objective of the "ad balance" policy is to promote improved nutrition habits among children in the public interest. Analysis indicates that a change in the manner in which commercials are scheduled may advance this objective. It is believed that government administration of such a policy, as opposed to industry self-regulation, would be most effective. As much as industry might recognize that the welfare of children is important, lessons of history and competitive marketing suggest that efforts at voluntary compliance among broadcasters would fail.

Development of the policy proposed in the paper gives rise to a multitude of legal, economic and ethical issues. Unfortunately, all issues cannot be addressed in a paper of this scope. The primary purpose of this paper has been to conceptually develop a policy, advance that policy through to the implementation stage, assess the "workability" of the proposal and stimlulate debate on the topic.

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FAST FOOD: FRENCH FRIES

COMPANY/PRODUCT	CALORIES	FAT (tsp)	SODIUM (mg.)	GLOOM
Arby's French Fries	211	2	30	9
Dairy Queen Fries, regular	200	2	115	11
McDonald's Fries, regular	220	3	109	13
D'Lites French Fries, regular	260	3	100	14
Long John Silver's Fryes	247	3	6	14
Kentucky Fried Chicken Kentucky Fries	268	3	81	15
Church's French Fries	256	3	—	15
Jack in the Box French Fries, regular	221	3	164	15
Arthur Treacher's Chips	276	3	39	15
Hardee's French Fries, regular	239	3	180	15
Wendy's French Fries, regular	280	3	95	16
Roy Rogers French Fries	268	3	165	16
D'Lites French Fries, large	320	3	120	17
Burger King French Fries, regular	227	3	160	17
Dairy Queen French Fries, large	320	4	185	21
Carl's Jr. French Fries, regular	250	3	460	21
Roy Rogers French Fries, large	357	4	221	22
Hardee's French Fries, large	406	5	306	27

Though they're deep-fried and salted, french fries are not quite as bad as their reputation would have them. A small serving should be more than enough, and ask the clerk to hold the salt. Kudos to Long John Silver's for making salt-free "Fryes" its standard.

FAST FOOD: SHAKES, MALTS

COMPANY/PRODUCT	CALORIES	FAT (tsp.)	SODIUM (mg.)	SUGAR (tsp.)	GLOOM
Jack in the Box Strawberry Shake, 11 fl. oz.	320	2	240	9	13
McDonald's Vanilla Shake, 10.2 fl. oz	352	2	201	10	15
McDonald's Strawberry Shake, 10.2 fl. oz.	362	2	207	10	15
Arby's Vanilla Shake, 8.8 fl. oz.	295	2	245	8	16
Burger King Vanilla Shake, 10 fl. oz.	321	2	205	9	16
Roy Rogers Vanilla Shake, 10.8 fl. oz.	306	2	282	9	17
Hardee's Milkshake, 11 fl. oz.	391	2	241	11	17
Carl's Jr. Shakes, large	490	2	350	14	17
McDonald's Chocolate Shake, 10.2 fl. oz.	383	2	300	11	17
Burger King Chocolate Shake, 10 fl. oz.	374	3	225	9	18
Dairy Queen Chocolate Malt, small, 10 fl. oz.	520	3	180	12	21
Dairy Queen Chocolate Malt, regular, 14 fl. oz.	760	4	260	18	29
Dairy Queen Chocolate Shake, large, 20 fl. oz.	990	6	360	29	43

Typical shakes contain about as much sugar as a can of cola, as much fat as a glass of milk, and as many calories as a cola and milk combined. They are good sources of calcium. Not a bad choice for a combined beverage and dessert, you can also make it better by sharing one with a friend (or, in the case of Carl's Jr. and Dairy Queen's large shakes and malts, two or three friends).

FAST FOOD: HAMBURGERS, CHEESEBURGERS

COMPANY/PRODUCT	CALORIES	FAT (tsp.)	SODIUM (mg.)	GLOOM
D'Lites Jr. D'Lite	200	2	210	9
Wendy's Kid's Meal Hamburger	200	2	265	11
D'Lites ¼ lb. D'Lite Burger	280	3	240	14
McDonald's Hamburger	263	3	506	16
Burger King Hamburger	275	3	509	17
Wendy's Hamburger, Multi-Grain Bun	340	4	290	20
Wendy's Hamburger, White Bun	350	4	410	22
Hardee's Hamburger	276	3	589	22
Jack in the Box Cheeseburger	323	3	749	22
Burger King Whopper Jr.	322	4	486	22
McDonald's Cheeseburger	318	4	743	23
D'Lites Double D'Lite	450	5	290	24
Carl's Jr. Old Time Star	450	5	625	26
Dairy Queen Single with Cheese	410	5	790	28
McDonald's Quarter Pounder	427	5	718	31
Roy Rogers Hamburger	456	6	495	34
Burger King Double Cheeseburger	478	6	827	35
Jack in the Box Mushroom Burger	477	6	906	36
Hardee's Big Deluxe	503	7	903	38
Burger King Bacon Double Cheeseburger	510	7	728	38
Carl's Jr. Famous Star	530	7	705	40
Wendy's Double Hamburger, White Bun	560	8	575	40

COMPANY/PRODUCT	CALORIES	FAT (tsp.)	SODIUM (mg.)	GLOOM
Hardee's Bacon Cheeseburger	556	7	888	42
McDonald's Quarter Pounder with Cheese	525	7	1220	43
McDonald's Big Mac	570	8	979	45
Dairy Queen Double with Cheese	650	8	980	46
Burger King Whopper	626	9	842	47
Wendy's Double Cheeseburger, White Bun	630	9	835	48
Jack in the Box Ham & Swiss Burger	638	9	1330	51
Dairy Queen Triple Hamburger	710	10	690	51
Jack in the Box Jumbo Jack with Cheese	630	8	1665	52
McDonald's McD.L.T.	680	10	1030	54
Burger King Whopper with Cheese	709	10	1126	56
Roy Rogers RR Bar Burger	611	9	1826	57
Jack in the Box Bacon Cheeseburger Supreme	724	10	1307	59
Carl's Jr. Super Star	780	11	785	59
Burger King Double Beef Whopper	887	13	922	66
Burger King Double Beef Whopper with Cheese	970	15	1206	76
Wendy's Triple Cheeseburger	1040	15	1848	85

Befriend your arteries by choosing small burgers and skipping the "special sauces." Cheeseburgers provide some calcium, but skim milk, yogurt, and green vegetables are much better, lower-calorie sources.

FAST FOOD: CHICKEN

COMPANY/PRODUCT	CALORIES	FAT (tsp.)	SODIUM (mg.)	GLOOM
Roy Rogers Chicken Leg	117	2	162	8
Kentucky Fried Chicken Original Recipe Drumstick	147	2	269	11
D'Lites Litely Breaded Chicken Filet	170	2	430	11
Church's Fried Chicken Leg	147	2	286	12
Roy Rogers Chicken Wing	142	2	266	13
Long John Silver's Chicken Plank, 1 piece	152	2	515	14
Kentucky Fried Chicken Extra Crispy Drumstick	173	3	346	15
Wendy's Chicken Sandwich, Multi-Grain Bun	320	2	500	15
Arby's Chicken Breast, roasted	254	2	930	15
Burger King Chicken Tenders, 6 pieces	204	2	636	16
D'Lites Chicken Filet Sandwich	280	3	760	19
Kentucky Fried Chicken Original Recipe Side Breast	276	4	654	24
Roy Rogers Chicken Breast	324	4	601	24
Church's Fried Chicken Breast	278	4	560	24
Arby's Turkey Deluxe	375	4	850	25
Roy Rogers Chicken Thigh	282	4	505	25
McDonald's Chicken McNuggets	323	5	512	26
Arby's Chicken Salad Sandwich	386	5	630	27
Kentucky Fried Chicken Kentucky Nuggets, 6 pieces	276	4	840	27
Church's Fried Chicken Wing	303	4	583	27

COMPANY/PRODUCT	CALORIES	FAT (tsp.)	SODIUM (mg.)	GLOOM
Arthur Treacher's Chicken	369	5	495	27
Arthur Treacher's Chicken Sandwich	413	4	708	28
Church's Fried Chicken Thigh	305	5	448	28
Carl's Jr. Charbroiler Chicken Sandwich	450	3	1380	28
Kentucky Fried Chicken Extra Crispy Thigh	343	5	549	30
Roy Rogers Chicken Thigh & Leg	399	6	667	33
Kentucky Fried Chicken, Extra Crispy Side Breast	354	5	797	34
Hardee's Turkey Club	426	6	1185	34
Roy Rogers Chicken Breast & Wing	466	6	867	37
Hardee's Chicken Fillet	510	6	1307	38
Arby's Chicken Breast Sandwich	592	6	1340	42
Arby's Chicken Club Sandwich	621	7	1300	46
Jack in the Box Chicken Supreme	601	8	1582	52
Dairy Queen Chicken Sandwich, fried	670	9	870	53
Burger King Specialty Chicken Sandwich	688	9	1423	58

Chicken starts out lean and wholesome, but once it is battered, breaded, fried, and smothered with a mayonnaise sauce, it will be loaded with fat and calories. Look for baked or broiled chicken, hold the sauces, and discard the grease-soaked breading.

FAST FOOD: FISH

COMPANY/PRODUCT	CALORIES	FAT (tsp.)	SODIUM (mg.)	GLOOM
D'Lites Litely Breaded Fish Filet	190	2	95	11
Arthur Treacher's Broiled Fish, 5 oz.	245	3	144	16
Church's Catfish, 3 pieces	201	3	453	18
Long John Silver's Ocean Chef Salad	229	2	986	18
Long John Silver's Batter-Fried Fish, 1 piece	202	3	673	20
Arthur Treacher's Fried Fish	355	5	450	26
Dairy Queen Fish Sandwich	400	4	875	27
¼ lb. D'Lites Fish Filet Sandwich	390	5	520	27
Hardee's Fisherman's Filet	469	5	1013	31
Jack in the Box Moby Jack	444	6	820	34
Arthur Treacher's Fish Sandwich	440	5	836	34
Burger King Whaler Sandwich	488	6	592	35
McDonald's Filet-O-Fish	435	6	799	35
Carl's Jr. Filet of Fish Sandwich	570	6	790	36
Burger King Whaler Sandwich with Cheese	530	7	734	39
Long John Silver's Seafood Salad	426	7	1086	45
Long John Silver's Seafood Platter	976	13	2161	91

Most fish is low in fat and quite healthful. But most fast food is deep-fried and as fatty as many hamburgers. Seek broiled or baked fish, and season with lemon juice instead of butter and tartar sauce.

FAST FOOD: ROAST BEEF

COMPANY/PRODUCT	CALORIES	FAT (tsp.)	SODIUM (mg.)	GLOOM
Carl's Jr. California Roast Beef Sandwich	300	2	505	11
Arby's Junior Roast Beef	218	2	345	12
Roy Rogers Roast Beef, regular	317	2	785	17
Hardee's Roast Beef Sandwich	312	3	826	20
Arby's Regular Roast Beef	353	3	590	21
Roy Rogers Roast Beef, large	360	3	1044	21
Arby's French Dip	386	3	1111	23
Arby's King Roast Beef	467	4	765	27
Arby's Super Roast Beef	501	5	800	29
Roy Rogers Roast Beef with Cheese, regular	424	4	1694	34
Arby's Roast Beef Deluxe	486	5	1288	36
Arby's Beef 'n Cheddar	490	5	1520	37
Roy Rogers Roast Beef, with Cheese, large	467	5	1953	38
Arby's Bac 'n Cheddar Deluxe Roast Beef	561	8	1385	50

Plain roast beef is lower in fat than hamburger meat, and the beef used by Roy Rogers and Carl's Jr. is extremely low in fat. But the final sandwich may be a different story, once it is topped with bacon, cheese, and sauces. No roast beef sandwich is anywhere near as fatty as a McD.L.T. or Whopper, let alone a double or triple cheeseburger.

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ADVERTISING DIVISION

A Comparison of Sexuality in Sunday Pro Football and Rest-of-Week National Advertising

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A Comparison of Sexuality in Sunday Pro Football
and Rest-of-Week National Advertising

> A male voice claims the only thing better than watching football at home is going out to watch, and the scenes of male barroom camaraderie leave little doubt. Suddenly, action ceases and men at the bar stare, open-mouthed and smitten, as an attractive young woman in a tight dress shimmies past....On a dance floor, a provocatively dressed woman grinds her buttocks against her partner's pelvis, while a voice-over warns this is no time to let un-light beer "slow you down."....After a desert trek, two men miraculously inflate a water-filled swimming pool and a swimsuit-clad beauty who offers chilled beer.

Pre-feminist exploitation in tv advertising? No, the ads are 1990-91 vintage, aired during pro football games. This study examines sex in network television commercials, comparing those targeted at a male-dominated audience (Sunday afternoon pro football) with commercials from the rest of the week. Variables include product, provocative/sexy dress, sexual interaction, and speaking roles.

Background

A persistent truism about advertising, found in trade and popular press, is simply that "sex sells," though advertising decision makers are understandably reluctant to acknowledge that sex is used in advertising.[1]

According to Courtney and Whipple, ad-sex promises "that the advertised product will heighten the sex appeal of the purchaser or offer some other sexually oriented reward." Advertisers use sex "to gain product-category and brand attention, recognition, recall, favorable brand attitudes, and eventually sales."[2]

Sex is an effective way of breaking into a viewer's attention,[3] and is used most often when advertisers are unable to describe any advantages of a product, "such as the smell of a cologne and the taste of a beer or cigarette."[4]

Early criticism of sex in advertising came with the feminist movement.[5] Critics continue to argue that women are demeaned by ads that use provocatively dressed females and hint that product use leads to enhanced sexual attractiveness.

Does it matter if advertising overemphasizes sex? Media exposure has an effect on viewers, whether one's theoretical perspective is based in persuasion models, social learning, or developmental theory.[6] A long tradition of effect research has examined how sex in ads influences attention, product evaluation and purchase intent.[7]

More pertinent are the effects of long-term exposure to media reality on views of the real world.[8] Presumably, tv ads' consistent stereotyped presentation of sexual relations perpetuates stereotypes in the real world. Viewers learn from dramatically effective or aesthetically pleasing--but unrealistic--media images.

Thus content analyses have focused on presence of females in ads and on sex roles of women: professional vs. housewife or decorative sex object; decision maker vs. ineffectual and male-dependent subordinate overly concerned with appearance, social and "mate" approval, and with trivial aspects of domestic life.

For example, Dominick and Rauch reported 32% of females in prime-time ads were sex objects, though Solomon, Bush and Resnick later found 9% in such roles. Caballero and Solomon reported an increase from 8% in 1977 to 11% of 1980 females as sex objects. But in women-targeted ads, the 1977-1980 increase was from 8% to 22%, while the 1977-1980 decrease in male-targeted ads was from 31% to 17%.[9]

McArthur and Resko found empirical evidence that females in ads "were more likely than males to obtain the approval of family and the opposite sex as reward for using a given product, while males more frequently obtained the approval of their friends, social advancement, and career advancement."[10]

Some suggest that women's role portrayals have improved during the last decades.[11] But if Caballero and Solomon found a decline fromm 1977 to 1980 in use of decorative women in male-targeted tv ads, they also found the increase in such use in female-targeted ads noted above, and Courtney and Whipple noted increased use of

decorative male models in products aimed at women and at men.[12]

Others agree that ad-sex is increasing. One pro characterized the current tv ad world as a "post-feminist, neo-romantic, neo-bimbo limbo," and another decried tv beer ad world scenes of "beer foam dancing suspended in a sex-charged atmosphere, the promise of boundless excitement and endless possibility."[13]

This study examines selling with sex in TV advertising, comparing national ads aired during network Sunday afternoon pro football telecasts (the most male audience-dominated week- and day-part)[14] with rest-of-week ads.

Our general hypothesis was that there would be greater use of sexy females in Sunday ads to attract attention of the primarily male audience. But we knew also that women tend to be underrepresented in many male-oriented product ads and that male viewers may prefer males selling male products.[15] Thus, women in Sunday ads would mostly be sexy and non-speaking decorations.

Method

During the week of Nov. 6, 1989, all national ads (n=244, including repeats) in Sunday afternoon NFL games on two national networks (NBC, CBS) were recorded.

For comparison, a sample of rest-of-week national ads was drawn (n=644); ABC, CBS and NBC Monday-through-Friday programming (excluding ABC's Monday Night Football) was stratified by day of week and two time blocks (soaptime, 1 p.m.-3 p.m., and primetime, 7 p.m.-10 p.m.). Randomly-selected network/day/block combinations were used. For this paper, we did not differentiate time blocks or networks.

Coders recorded product advertised and numbers of characters of each gender, and, for the first six major[16] characters of each gender, presence of speaking roles, sexuality and sexual "exchange."

Character sexuality (or "sexiness") was based on dress. A character was judged to be dressed provocatively if s/he was wearing a bathing suit, undergar-

ments only, tight or form-fitting clothing, or "scanty" clothing (mini-skirts, short shorts, or revealing nightgown). Also included here were female characters whose cleavage was shown or emphasized, and bare-chested male characters.

Sexual exchanges were also examined. Coders sought evidence suggesting past, current or future sexual relations, including "leering" expressions of lust, close physical contact (particularly if accompanied by movements simulating sex), other non-verbal "promises," camera-framed suggestions that intimate contact was occurring (perhaps "below" the camera-framed heads) or had just occurred, overt sexual speech or double entendres. Obviously context and setting were important.

Operationalizing these variables was difficult. "Sexiness" may be as difficult to operationalize as "beauty," another concept evoked by critics of women's portrayals (e.g., tv women are "always young and beautiful") and usually avoided as "very difficult to observe" by scholars.[17]

Just as operationalizing beauty would include discrete and minute components of that quality--e.g., eye color, shape or expression; or hair color, texture and style--so too one must sensitize coders to myriad non-verbal, verbal and contextual factors in identifying sexual exchanges, without oversensitizing them to the point that they "see sex everywhere"! The latter is a danger in content analysis, particularly given the artifical re-viewing capability afforded by videotape.

Still, after two training periods following initial low reliability scores among three independent coders, a second test among four independent coders yielded coefficients of agreement between .81 and .90 for these variables. For "easy" variables (e.g., product and number of females) agreement was 100%.

Findings and Discussion

Table 1 contrasts the samples' distribution among 16 product categories. Comparison of Sunday ads with the rest-of-week norm, a broad-spectrum composite of ads

directed at all viewers, makes clear the male-oriented focus of Sunday ads.

A plurality (25.4%) of Sunday ads were for vehicles, a product accounting for only 7.3% of rest-of-week ads. The plurality (28.4%) of rest-of-week ads was for food and restaurants, only 9.2% of Sunday ads.

Nine percent of Sunday spots were for beer and wines, but there were no alcoholic beverage ads in the rest-of-week sample. The Sunday sample contained few "female" product ads: hygiene, medicine and fitness were 4.8% of Sunday ads, but 14.4% of rest-of-week ads, while cosmetics and household products were 12.7% of rest-of-week ads but less than 1% of Sunday's.

As Table 2 shows, females were apparently seldom seen or heard in football ads. More Sunday afternoon ads had males present (72% of ads) than had females (44%). In the rest-of-week sample, ads with women (56%) outnumbered ads with men (52%). In short, Sunday ads were atypical, in that "too few" contained any women and "too many" contained men. But recall the male products advertised on Sunday.

How does this compare with previous studies? Dominick and Rauch found only 39% of primetime ads had women present, while Solomon, Bush and Resnik found 66% of daytime and primetime ads had women. In Saturday morning ads, Riffe et al. found 62% of ads had women, while Barcus found 51% and Verna found 60%.[18]

Sunday vs. rest-of-week differences were significant for ads with males (chi-square = 30.81, 1 d.f., p=.0001), and for ads with females (chi-square = 11.91, 1 d.f., p=.0006).

As anticipated, Sunday ads were more likely to have male speakers than female speakers. Sunday ads (37%) were significantly more likely than were rest-of-week ads (25%) to have males speaking (chi-square = 13.4, 1 d.f., p=.001), and Sunday ads (17%) were significantly less likely than were rest-of-week ads (25%) to have females speaking (chi-square = 6.74, 1 d.f., p=.01).

Only a small percentage of Sunday (10%) and rest-of-week (11%) ads contained provocatively dressed women. But the percentage of ads with males provocatively dressed was significantly greater (chi-square=4.86, 1 d.f., p=.03) for Sunday ads (9%) than for rest-of-week ads (5%). We assumed sexy females would be a "benefit" attracted to product use; advertisers also promote the association of product use with sex appeal by having male consumers identify with sexy male models.

Finally, Sunday ads with females (6%) and males (5%) in sexual exchanges were few, and not significantly different from the rest-of-week sample.

But if we examine only ads with any female models (44% of all Sunday ads), 23% had provocatively dressed females, and 13% involved women in sexual exchanges.

Thus far, the ad was our unit of analysis; an ad involving 15 sexy characters was coded simply as a "yes" for presence of provocative dress. Table 3 examines the characters populating television's "ad world." Note the underrepresentation of female characters (32.7% Sunday, and 48.2% rest-of-week) and the significant chi-square (47.58, 1 d.f., p=.0001).

How does the study's female representation compare to other data? Census data, of course, show women are a plurality (51%) of the real U.S. population. McArthur and Resko found females were 43% of "central figures" in 1971 commercials (but only 30% during evening ads). Schneider and Schneider reported 55% female characters in 1976 primetime ads. Ferrante, Haynes and Kingsley reported that females were 40% of "on-camera product representatives" in the 1972 Dominick and Rauch study and were 42.6% in 1986. D'Amico and Hummel found females were 46% of characters in primetime and 65% in soaptime (1-3 p.m.). Riffe, et al. found only 39% female representation in Saturday morning commercials.[19]

There was a significant (chi-square=4.33, 1 d.f., p=.04) pattern of character speaking roles (28.8% on Sunday, vs. 33.2% rest-of-week). The non-speaking Sunday

characters may reflect greater use of decorative models, and frequent crowd scenes (e.g., barroom or beach-party settings of many beer ads).

The character unit of analysis seems to add little to the examination of sexuality and sexual exchange. Table 2 had shown that approximately 9-10% of ads had at least one provocatively dressed female or male, and roughly 5-6% included sexual exchanges. Table 3 shows 9.9% of Sunday ad characters were provocatively dressed, and 4.7% were involved in sexual exchanges.

There were more provocatively dressed characters (11.8%) among rest-of-week characters than on Sunday, but the difference was not significant. But there were significantly more rest-of-week characters (11.4%) involved in sexual exchange than Sunday characters (4.7%; chi-square=26.6, 1 d.f., p=.0001).

A majority (58.1%) of Sunday's provocatively dressed characters were females, though females were only 32.7% of Sunday characters. Yet the female proportion of provocatively dressed characters was even greater (71.6%) during rest-of-the week ads (chi-square =4.15, 1 d.f., p=.05).

More frequent character involvement in rest-of-week sexual exchanges may reflect perfume, hygiene and fitness ads--comparatively scarce on Sunday--that boldly promise increased sexual allure. Researchers have found greater presence of women-as-sex-objects in these women-targeted ads; they conclude that, though women object to gratuitous efforts to sell with sex, emphasis on sex is acceptable for products designed "to enhance appearance, physical attractiveness, and/or sex appeal (such as cosmetics or fragrances)."[20]

When only the female characters were examined, 17.6% of 245 Sunday females were provocatively dressed, compared to 17.5% of 634 rest-of-week females. But only 6.1% of 505 Sunday males and 6.5% of 673 rest-of-week males were so garbed.

Provocative dress was significantly associated with male and female character

involvement in sexual exchanges. The relationship was stronger during rest-of-week ads. In the Sunday ads alone, the relationship was stronger for female than male characters. Of course, the number of cases in these subanalyses is small.

Table 4 contrasts product distribution of characters and provocatively dressed characters. Sunday alcoholic beverage ads accounted for the largest segments of female (22.9%) and male (14.4%) characters, though these ads were only 9.2% of all Sunday ads. Recall the frequent use in beer ads of large, party-type gatherings.

But nearly 63% of all provocatively dressed Sunday female characters were in beer commercials, as were nearly a third (32.3%) of provocatively dressed males.

During rest-of-the-week ads, provocatively dressed females were overrepresented in retail sales ads (28.8%), though that product accounted for only 15.3% of all female characters, and 11.2% of all ads. Provocatively dressed rest-of-week males were "concentrated" (40.5%) in food and restaurant ads.

Conclusion

There were limitations to the present study. Our choice of a single Sunday's football advertising limits generalizability. And our combination of soaptime and primetime ads to create a comparison "norm" may have hidden greater--or lesser--instances of sexuality and sexual exchange in either of those time blocks.

More important is the operational difficulty in identifying sexy dress and evidence of sexual exchanges. We may have become overly sensitized to indicators of sexual activity. Viewers of commercials seldom rewind or freeze commercials to categorize the behavior of an out-of-the-foreground couple.

And much of what we have reported here is, of course, hardly new. Critics have often argued what we have confirmed empirically: advertisers try to associate sexual attractiveness and sociability with alcohol use. And because Sunday afternoon football games are directed at a male audience, the differences we found in

product "mix" between Sunday and the rest-of-the-week ads were anticipated.

But through this empirical assessment of the use of sex and sexuality in television advertising, we've found that, generally speaking, there may be less of it than we anticipated, at least as operationalized here.

In fact, one important conclusion from this study is that no matter how memorable many Sunday beer ads seem because of the number of scantily-clad females or any suggestive acts they may feature, or because the ads represent such a total break from the game itself, the overall presence of provocative dress and sexual activity in Sunday ads is essentially the same as rest-of-the-week advertising. And at the character level of analysis, there is more sexiness and sexual activity during rest-of-week ads.

That is not to suggest, however, that Sunday football ads are any less "a man's world," simply because the same proportion of ads contain sexy females as in the rest of the week. The Sunday product mix is, as noted, decidedly male. And fewer Sunday ads have any women in them or speaking in them, and far more have men and men speakers. And the individual sexy female character is more likely to be involved in sexual exchange on Sunday than her individual sexy male counterpart. And, finally, these ads are likely viewed more intently by more males than any other comparable week- and time-part.

Female characters continue to be underrepresented in all ads, in terms of their "true" population majority. That distortion is even greater during the "man's world" of Sunday male-directed ads. In fact, because of that underrepresentation on Sunday, the overrepresentation of women--particularly sexy ones--in supremely male-oriented beer commercials is so noticeable.

Ultimately, even if sex and sexuality in Sunday ads are less than anticipated, and perhaps "concentrated" in beer ads, the potential impact of those portrayals

remains tremendous, given the attention that an enormous number of males, of all ages, devote to football and at least some of its advertising.

Notes

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TABLE 1

Percentages of Ads in Sunday and Rest-of-Week Sample, by Product

Product	Sunday Sample %	Rest of Week Sample %
Vehicles	25.4	7.3
Retail sales	10.7	11.2
Food and restaurants	9.2	28.4
Alcoholic beverages	9.2	0.0
Utilities	7.7	3.6
Travel	6.3	1.4
Network promotions	6.3	4.8
Appliances	5.5	1.1
Hygiene, medicines, fitness	4.8	14.4
Military, educational recruit	4.8	.5
Financial, insurance, mail services	5.5	.8
Public Service Announcements	1.8	.9
Children's products, pets	1.1	7.6
Cosmetics, household products	.4	12.7
Movie promotions, media	.4	3.1
Other	1.1	2.2
TOTAL	100.2	100.0
(n of ads)	(272)	(644)

Column total may exceed 100% due to rounding error.

NOTE: When ranks are assigned on the basis of product-type prevalence, the between-rank correlation (Spearman's rho) is .058 (p=.41).

TABLE 2

Percentages of Ads in Sunday and Rest-of-Week Samples, by Gender Variables

	Sunday Sample %	Rest of Week Sample %	chi-square	prob.
PERCENTAGE OF ALL ADS THAT HAVE:				
Females present	44	56	11.91	.0006
Males present	72	52	30.81	.0001
Females speaking	17	25	6.74	.0095
Males speaking	37	25	13.40	.0003
Females provocatively dressed	10	11		n.s.
Males provocatively dressed	9	5	4.86	.03
Females in sexual exchange	6	7		n.s.
Males in sexual exchange	5	6		n.s.
(n of ads)	(272)	(644)		
ADS WITH FEMALES PRESENT THAT HAVE:				
Females speaking	39	45		n.s.
Females provocatively dressed	23	19		n.s.
Females in sexual exchange	13	13		n.s.
(n of ads)	(119)	(362)		
ADS WITH MALES PRESENT THAT HAVE:				
Males speaking	52	48		n.s.
Males provocatively dressed	13	10		n.s.
Males in sexual exchange	7	12		n.s.
(n of ads)	(195)	(334)		

TABLE 3

Percentages of Characters in Ads in Sunday and Rest-of-week Samples, by Gender Variables

	Sunday Sample Ad Characters %	Rest of Week Sample Ad Characters %	chi-square	prob.
CHARACTERS WHO ARE:				
Females	32.7	48.2	47.58	.0001
Males	67.3	51.8		
TOTAL	100.0	100.0		
Speaking	28.8	33.2	4.33	.04
Non-speaking	71.2	66.8		
TOTAL	100.0	100.0		
Provocatively dressed	9.9	11.8		
Normally dressed	90.1	88.2		
TOTAL	100.0	100.0		
Involved in sexual exch.	4.7	11.4	26.60	.0001
Not involved	95.3	88.6		
TOTAL	100.0	100.0		
(N=)	(750)	(1315)		
PROVOCATIVELY DRESSED CHARACTERS:				
Females	58.1	71.6	4.15	.05
Males	41.9	28.4		
TOTAL	100.0	100.0		
(N=)	(74)	(155)		
FEMALE CHARACTERS:				
Provocatively dressed	17.6	17.5		
Normally dressed	82.4	82.5		
TOTAL	100.0	100.0		
(N=)	(245)	(634)		
MALE CHARACTERS:				
Provocatively dressed	6.1	6.5		
Normally dressed	93.9	93.5		
TOTAL	100.0	100.0		
(N=)	(505)	(673)		

IN ADS WITH ANY FEMALES Provocative dress:	Yes	No	Yes	No
Female characters	%	%	%	%
in sexual exchange	27.9	2.5	36.0	8.4
not in sexual exchange	72.1	97.5	64.0	91.6
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N=)	(43)	(202)	(111)	(523)
[Chi-square, prob.]	[35.5, .0001]		[60.8, .0001]	

(continued)

IN ADS WITH ANY MALES	Sunday Sample Ad Characters		Rest of Week Sample Ad Characters	
Provocative dress:	Yes	No	Yes	No
Male characters	%	%	%	%
in sexual exchange	12.9	2.9	43.2	7.5
not in sexual exchange	87.1	97.1	56.8	92.5
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N=)	(31)	(474)	(44)	(631)
[Chi-square, prob.]	[8.38, .004]		[59.29, .0001]	

TABLE 4

Percentages of Characters in Sunday and Rest-of-week Samples, By Gender, Provocative ("Sexy") Dress, and Product

	SUNDAY FEMALES		R.O.W. FEMALES		SUNDAY MALES		R.O.W. MALES	
	all %	sexy %	all %	sexy %	all %	sexy %	all %	sexy %
PRODUCT								
Vehicles	9.0	7.0	3.6	.9	12.5	0.0	6.5	2.4
Retail sales	3.3	0.0	15.3	28.8	6.5	9.7	10.1	11.9
Food and restaurants	10.6	11.6	24.6	27.0	8.3	12.9	27.6	40.5
Alcoholic beverages	22.9	62.8	0.0	0.0	14.4	32.3	0.0	0.0
Utilities	11.4	7.0	4.4	.9	8.3	0.0	6.8	0.0
Travel	13.1	0.0	4.6	1.8	12.3	3.2	4.5	4.8
Network promotions	9.8	7.0	7.7	11.7	10.3	3.2	9.1	11.9
Appliances	2.0	0.0	.2	0.0	4.5	19.4	.7	2.4
Hygiene, medicines, fitness	4.1	2.3	15.3	11.7	3.8	0.0	13.5	14.3
Military, educational recruit	2.0	0.0	.9	0.0	8.1	16.1	1.3	0.0
Financial, insurance, mail services	7.3	2.3	1.1	.9	8.7	3.2	1.5	0.0
Public Service Announcements	.4	0.0	1.3	.9	1.0	0.0	.6	0.0
Children's products, pets	0.0	0.0	2.8	.9	.4	0.0	4.4	2.4
Cosmetics, household products	1.6	0.0	9.5	12.6	0.0	0.0	5.0	9.5
Movie promotions, media	2.0	0.0	6.9	1.8	.6	0.0	6.2	0.0
Other	.4	0.0	1.7	0.0	.2	0.0	2.2	0.0
Total	99.9	100.0	99.9	99.9	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.1
(N=)	(245)	(43)	(634)	(111)	(505)	(31)	(681)	(42)

NOTE: Column totals may not add to 100% because of rounding error.

The Economics and Practice of Barter Advertising

by

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The U. S. television syndication industry has developed tremendously during the past decade as a primary alternative to network program distribution. It is estimated that by 1995, the overall industry revenue will exceed $10 billion, comparable to the market for network broadcasting and radio today. Coupled with its role as a major alternative avenue for national advertising spots, the television syndication industry has become a very significant player in the American commercial media environment. Nevertheless, at the same time, the syndicated programming business and its barter practice are perhaps the most complicated and least understood segment of the television as well as advertising industry.

As barter advertising is gaining ground in advertisers' media buying portfolios, more understanding on the background of the syndication industry and the nature of this commercial medium should assist both advertising practitioners in making their media planning decisions and researchers in studying the newly established advertising vehicle. This paper examines the economics of television syndication, barter advertising's role in the syndication industry, and explores the development of barter advertising as well as its current aspects. Since there has been virtually no research conducted in this field, the focus of this paper is more on providing a comprehensive review of barter advertising rather than investigating specific issues of the medium.

In general, television syndicators are in a market that consists of two kinds of products: a primary product of television programs for syndication and a secondary product of bartered commercial spots within the programs. Since the availability of barter advertising depends on the term of sales of the programming product, the market nature of the programming product largely influences the characteristics of the advertising product. Thus, the market elements and the dynamics of the syndicated programming industry will be discussed first.

Economics of Television Syndication

Television syndication involves the licensing, selling, and distribution of television programs by the owners (or the owners' agents) of the television copyrights. The syndicated program buyers acquire the rights to broadcast the programs by paying a license fee and recouping their program investment by selling commercial spots within the programs. Alternatively, the program buyers may acquire a program with some commercial messages already inserted and sell the unfilled commercial spots in the programs in exchange for exhibiting the inserted commercials. This is called "barter syndication" or "barter advertising."

In economic terms, the content of syndicated television programs is considered to be a "public good" as its use by one consumer does not diminish its availability to others.

As a public good, the amount of consumption becomes critically important to the degree of profitability or even viability of the good. In other words, in order to survive or even prosper, the syndicators have to distribute their programs as widely as possible.

Depending on its original target market, the programming product of television syndication falls into three categories: first-run, off-network, and movie packages.

First-run television syndication. The first-run syndicated programs are originally produced for the syndication market in comparison to the off-network reruns and movie packages which are basically the recycled products from different video markets. First-run syndicated programs have become increasingly available since the mid-1970s, largely because demand expanded with the growth of independent television stations. During its years of development, the syndicated programming has focused on various content and form approaches.[1] Among all, low-budget tabloid magazine programs, game shows, and talk shows with ability to attract a relatively large share of audience seem to be the dominant format for the first-run production. The reasons for this result rest in large part on the economics of television syndication as the operation expenses for distributing syndicated programs is much more costly compared with network distribution and since the popular "access" hour occurs during the first hour of prime time, the programs presented

generally attempt to appeal to a wide cross-section of the audience.[2] Furthermore, because the audience tends to form automatic tuning habits for programs scheduled with strict predictability (Eastman, Head, Klein, 1985), television stations normally prefer to strip (run across-the-board at the same time Monday through Friday) their first-run products to capitalize on such a viewing habit. And in order to sell the product for strip scheduling, a syndicator would have to first build up a backlog of original episodes, which requires a substantial amount of capital investment. In sum, with the pressure from the expensive operational expenses, the essentiality to attract the largest audience, and the inability to inventory expensive first-run product, historically, first-run syndicators have chosen to distribute the programs that are economically produced and generally appealing, such as game shows and talk shows.

Though the networks no longer directly participate in the syndication business due to the Financial Interest and Syndication Rule, their program market still plays an indirect role in the development of the first-run programming.[3] For instance, many prime-time television programs created for and later dropped by the networks have now resumed production in the syndication industry.[4] Also, since the FCC restricts the top 50 market network affiliates from showing off-network rerun programs during the access time period, the demand for first-run syndicated programs from these important markets is assured.

Off-network Reruns. These are the programs which were originally developed for one of the networks for exhibition on its affiliated stations and controlled by their copyright owners after the network has used up its contracted number of runs. The most important characteristic common to these off-network programs is a successful run in network prime-time, since national prime-time popularity serves as a surrogate measure of a program's likely success in television syndication. To this end, a longer-than-average network run provides sufficient episodes to be saleable in the syndication market (FCC, 1980).

In general, off-network syndicated reruns are series programs. They consist primarily of situation comedies, action-adventure/drama, and animated (cartoon) programs, which debut not during prime-time but the Saturday morning network hours and later are sold in the syndication market. Among these, half-hour shows normally gain bigger audiences than hour-long programs which have proven incompatible with the key early fringe and late afternoon hours for broadcast stations and often fail to attract many new viewers during their second 30 minutes. Historically, the most popular off-network half-hour reruns are situation comedies.

Movie Packages. These are the feature films produced originally for theatrical exhibition and later distributed as a group to the program buyers. Since made-for-television movies are distributed in much the same way as prime-time

series, they are treated as the off-network product.

This type of television syndication is also considered a very cost-efficient form of programming which allows its buyers considerable flexibility at a relatively low cost. In addition, such programming fills many hours and provides targeting advantage on the basis of sex and age (Eastman, Head, and Klein, 1985). However, the syndication market normally represents the last step of a multiple year in a distribution sequence after theaters, videocassette or pay cable (or other pay services), and broadcast networks for popular feature films. Only theatricals that are relatively unpopular in their initial releases and thus do not interest the pay service or network buyers pass quickly into the syndication market.

Four different types of programming customers are currently participating in the market for television syndication. With the independent broadcast stations leading the demand for such syndicated programming, the buyers of the product include network affiliates, the cable television programming purchasers, which include both the cable television programming networks and multiple system operators (MSOs), and finally, the foreign television market buyers.

Programming Sales and Distribution. These program buyers acquire the exhibition right of a syndicated program by entering a contractual agreement with the program's

syndicator. If the copyright owner of a program is a film studio, as most of them are, very often the film company would have its own television syndication division to carry out the distribution responsibility, while if an independent program supplier is the licensor, a specialized syndication company would normally be contracted to act as an agent in dealing with the programming buyers, for which it receives a percentage of the programming sales.

The exhibition contract focuses basically on five major clauses: terms of payment, duration of exhibition right, number of runs authorized, actual delivery of program, and geographical exclusivity terms. The exhibition licenses are conventionally issued for six consecutive runs in a period of not more than five years. On average, the time frame of the first-run television syndication contract is shorter than those of the other syndicated products due to the first-run's uncertainty in programming popularity. If a first-run takes off, a shorter contract gives the syndicator the opportunity to quickly raise the price; if the program flops, the buyer will not lose too much of his or her programming investment. Also, a typical contract will indicate that, from the gross revenues collected, the syndicator of the program will first deduct syndication fees, out-of-pocket expenses such as advertising, tape printing, and shipping, and advances made to producers. The syndication fees are normally based on a certain proportion of a program's gross income, for example, syndicators often charge 15-20 percent for stripping product

sales, 30-35 percent for the domestic distribution of non-stripping programs, and 40-50 percent for foreign market syndication.

In general, the television syndicators approach prospective stations (or groups of stations) through their sales people directly, or else participate in the annual convention of the National Association of Television Program Executives (NATPE), which has successfully provided a central meeting ground for the programming buyers and sellers over the last ten years.

The syndicated product is normally distributed either through "bicycling," which means the tape of each program episode is forwarded from station to station, or more commonly today via satellite transmission, which can deliver the programs simultaneously for stations across the country as long as they are equipped with satellite signal receiving equipment. Generally, satellite delivery is often used for topical syndicated shows such as news-oriented, magazine format programs that need timely distribution to the exhibitors. Nevertheless, for those off-network strip shows, where timeliness is not a factor, the traditional tape "bicycling" distribution method is still considered to be more appropriate and cost effective than satellite delivery.

With this background on the industry of television syndication, we can now examine the focus of this study, the syndication market's secondary product, barter advertising.

The Practice of Barter Syndication

According to the Advertiser Syndicated Television Association's (ASTA) definition, "barter syndication" is a transaction whereby television stations giving back to a syndicator a portion of their commercial time in exchange for airing the syndicator's program. In general, barter advertising takes the forms of straight barter, cash-barter combination, and time-banking barter arrangement. Since a station can generate revenues from the sale of its advertising inventory adjacent and within a syndicated program, when a station barters for a syndicated show, it is giving up its revenue generating opportunities to the syndicator of the program.

Straight Barter. Under such an arrangement, a syndicator or its agent distributes a program with already inserted commercials (generally three minutes per half hour of advertising time) and receives no cash payment from stations. Thus, only stations' advertising time is exchanged for syndicated programs and their unfilled commercial spots.

Cash-barter. This combination offers a hybrid form of barter syndication, wherein the syndicator receives cash for the program but also retains some commercial time within the program for sale to national advertisers (generally 1 to 1 1/2 minutes of advertising time per half hour). Since only a

small portion of the advertising slots are presold under such an arrangement, stations are still able to produce considerable revenues from the remaining spots.

Time-banking. Finally, not used as often by advertisers, time-banking syndications are barter deals in which no commercials are inserted in the syndicated program but syndicators exchange their programs for commercial spots scheduled in other programs. Under such a "tradeout" scheme, stations do not make any cash payment to syndicators and are able to retain all the advertising inventory in the syndicated programs, however, in return, they have to trade in advertising time in other programs specified by the syndicators.

As for the resulting barter spots--the advertising slots retained by the syndicators, barter syndicators generally presell them in the national market at 15 to 30 percent less than network spot advertising on a cost-per-thousand (CPM) basis, which makes barter a fairly good bargain for national advertisers. Nevertheless, while shopping for barter advertising, price is not the only consideration. National advertisers often look for a minimum coverage of 70 percent of the nation's television households from a syndicated program (Chan-Olmsted, 1991). In addition to the clearance rate, the advertisers also evaluate the value of a barter opportunity by the quality of the program lineup, that is,

the general time slot cleared for a specific syndicated program.[5]

As the economics of television syndication and barter advertising explicate the market nature of the advertising practice, further discussions on its historical development should provide more insights on the dynamics of this growing media option.

Development of Barter Syndication

Traditionally, program license fees collected on a market by market basis were the only major revenue source for television syndicators. Though existing since the early days of television syndication, barter advertising practices never gained respectability and did not become an important revenue source for syndicators until the 1980s (Moore, 1979). During the last ten years, barter syndication has generated 30 times as much gross revenues (see Table 1). Also, comparing to the more conventional network and spot advertising, barter has dominated the growth rate during the same period (see Table 2). It was estimated that, with a compound annual growth rate of 19.8 percent, barter syndication will comprise 25 percent of syndication net revenues by 1995 (Channels, 1989). The tremendous growth of barter practices during the last decade has characterized today's syndication market and made barter one of the unique business operation patterns of the industry.

TABLE 1: ADVERTISING REVENUES COMPARISON (in billions $)#

	Network ads	Spot TV ads	Barter ads
1980	$5.13	3.27	.05
1981	5.54	3.75	.08
1982	6.14	4.36	.15
1983	6.96	4.83	.30
1984	8.32	5.49	.42
1985	8.06	6.00	.52
1986	8.34	6.57	.60
1987	8.50	6.85	.76
1988	9.17	7.15	.90
1989	9.30	7.40	1.22
1990	9.75	7.87	1.56*

#Figures based on calendar year instead of broadcast seasons

*Estimated figures, also includes Fox.

**Both national and regional spot advertising revenues as estimated by the Television Bureau of Advertising.

Sources: Complied from reports from Wilkofsky Gruen Associates in Channels' 1995 Syndication, Channels February 1990, p. 82, Broadcasting, July 23, 1990, p. 68, and Television Bureau of Advertising Trends in GNP, Ad Volume, TV ad Volume 1960-1995

TABLE 2: GROWTH RATES OF NETWORK, SPOT, AND BARTER ADVERTISING*

Year	Network Ad Growth Rate	Spot Ad Growth Rate	Barter Ad Growth Rate
1980-1981	8.0%	14.6	50.0
1981-1982	10.9	16.5	100.0
1982-1983	13.2	10.6	100.0
1983-1984	19.6	13.7	40.0
1984-1985	-3.1	9.4	23.8
1985-1986	3.5	9.4	15.4
1986-1987	1.9	4.2	27.0
1987-1988	7.9	4.4	18.2
1988-1989	1.4	3.5	35.4
1989-1990	4.8	6.4	56.0

*Figures based on the calendar year revenue calculations

Sources: Compiled from Broadcasting, July 23, 1990, p. 68, and Television Bureau of Advertising Trends in GNP, Ad Volume, TV ad Volume 1960-1995

Before the 1980s, barter syndication was perceived to be a less desirable vehicle for advertisers because it did not generate a large national audience and was applied mainly on a straight barter basis for cheap filler programs. After the implementation of Prime Time Access Rule, as the syndication industry began to catch a larger national audience and have access to important broadcast time slots, advertisers' attention became redirected to this national advertising alternative.

While syndicators have long discovered the revenue benefit of withholding one or more advertising minutes per show and the advantage of cost reduction through increased sales of barter advertising, broadcast stations did not jump onto the barter bandwagon until the mid-1980s. Due to the expansion of UHF stations and the growing threat posed by cable television during the period before 1987, broadcast stations, especially independent stations, in their efforts to compete for audience, made extensive investments in syndicated programming. Coupled with the frenzy of buyouts and mergers in many large broadcast markets, many weak independent stations went bankrupt, others entered the late-1980s with serious debt burdens and restricted cashflows.

Though stations still consider barter versus cash purchase by comparing their cost-to-return ratios, as programming prices continue to escalate and stations still fight for rating generated syndicated programs with limited budgets, barter advertising provides a favorable arrangement

of program purchasing that answers to many stations' budgetary exigencies. In reality, as high price shows like "The Cosby Show," "Who's the Boss," and "Wheel of Fortune" soak up their program-acquisition budgets, stations are more than willing to accept barter terms when signing programming contracts. This situation is particularly obvious for independent stations. Added to the financial condition were the success stories of many first-run syndicated shows such as "The Oprah Winfrey Show," which provided a great advertising vehicle and pulled barter further away from the sluggish growth in 1986.

The role of barter advertising has also changed in recent years. While it has become a standard for popular first-run syndicators to use barter or barter-cash combination terms, successful off-network reruns are increasingly required to contain presold commercial announcements to ease the burden of high license fees charged by many hit sit-coms such as "The Cosby Show" and "Who's the Boss." For these expensive rerun products, syndicators often make specific arrangements in delivering their programs as well as the accompanying commercials. For example, Viacom feeds episodes of "The Cosby Show" by satellite so the program and the one minute presold commercials can be aired on the exact day and date agreed to in the contract (Channels Field Guide, 1987). Even off-network hour shows, which were formerly sold on cash-only terms, have started to be offered on a cash-barter combination terms. For example,

LBS Communications has provided some hard-to-market hour shows such as "Crazy Like a Fox" under a barter spilt of five minutes for LBS, seven for the station (Hall, 1989).

While barter advertising is becoming a popular form of transaction between the programming buyers and the seller, it is sometimes used as a negotiation point to get station managers in desirable markets to clear a program. However, since barter advertising is very time-consuming and only becomes cost-efficient with larger volumes of transactions, most of the smaller syndicators do not participate in such sales. In essence, though barter practices have spread the risk associated with programming development from syndicators to more parties by providing access to advertising sponsors, the trend may have benefited the large syndicators more than the small ones in the industry.

As barter syndication is gradually gaining ground in competing with network and spot advertising for national advertisers' business, it is necessary to further examine this operation pattern by studying the positive as well as negative market conditions surrounding the barter advertising clients.

Advantages and Disadvantages of Barter Advertising

Barter syndication, as a special form of spot advertising, gives advertisers control over the environment in which their commercials appear. Being able to reach a

group of loyal viewers of certain programs, barter advertisers have the opportunity to tailor their advertising to those viewers who are more likely to purchase their products, thereby making the advertising more cost effective. In addition, instead of negotiating with many stations, advertisers can cut down transaction costs by making a single deal with the syndicator. Barter advertising also provides an entitlement opportunity for advertisers, that is, provides the opportunities to become sponsors of shows, which is rarely approved by the networks. For example, Pizza Hut just entered a $25 million promotional deal with King World which makes the restaurant a major sponsor of a new production of "Candid Camera" (Advertising Age, Oct. 29, 1990, p. 61).

In terms of the disadvantages of barter syndication, advertisers often complain about the excessive amount of commercial clutter in syndicated programs. For example, while an ABC prime-time half hour contains 4 1/2 minutes total commercial minutes (3 1/2 network + 1 local), "Wheel of Fortune" has about 6-7 commercial minutes in its half hour show. And while the hour long "Oprah Winfrey Show" contains a total of 14 minutes of commercials, an ABC prime-time hour program broadcasts only nine minutes of them (Mandese, 1989). Advertisers are concerned about the commercial environment in the syndicated shows, worrying that the frequent clutter of commercials may either make their messages less effective or have the audience engage in channel hopping with their remote control devices.

Adding to the clutter complaint is the discrepancy of numbers between projected and actual audience delivery of syndicated programs. Advertisers have repeatedly argued that many syndicators have unrealistic audience estimates and overly optimistic guarantees for new and returning programs (Mandese, 1989). Even though syndicators provide compensation spots or cash rebates for the audience underdelivery, advertisers regard such ratings discrepancies as unprofessional and damage the integrity of their advertising plans. It is believed that the often use of bonus spots in the event of underdelivery may have further lessened barter syndicators' credibility.

Similar to the previous problem, barter syndication is often criticized for the lack of timely, accurate ratings information. As ratings data for syndicated shows are harder to compile due to their flexible time periods for broadcast, they are not published as fast and as often as network programs. Thus, it is hard for advertising agencies to purchase commercial spots and negotiate audience deficiency units when they are needed. Also, as ratings for syndicated programs fluctuate dramatically by market, it is harder to buy them as network shows which deliver more stable ratings.

Recently, advertisers also started to complain about the unsatisfactory line-up of many syndicated programs. Due to the scarcity of time slots for syndicated programming, many new syndicated shows are now cleared in poor time periods, which undercuts the size of the viewing public even with high

station clearance rates.[6] In terms of the program content, advertisers often comment that the overall quality of syndicated programming is too low. Furthermore, many first-run syndicated programs are of similar types, lack innovative thinking, and appeal to limited demographic groups (Mandese, 1989). Nonetheless, they do provide a good advertising vehicle for certain types of products that can live with these problems.

Current Aspects of Barter Syndication

Barter advertising has undoubtedly become one of the top choices in media planners' minds as the syndication audience continues to grow and syndicated programs improve in quality. Table 3 indicates the advertising spending by media for the top 200 brands by the end of 1990. It is clear that barter advertising has dominated the pace of growth and risen to be the number five medium, following the conventional network, spot, magazine, and newspaper advertising media. In general, net barter revenues are estimated to grow to $2.55 billion by 1995 with a compound annual growth rate of 19.8 percent after 1988 (Channels, 1989).

While the practice of barter advertising continues to exhibit a healthy growth rate, it is also important to examine the degree of market competition in the syndication industry as more diversified, competitive programming sources normally result in better advertising prices and more

TABLE 3: ADVERTISING SPENDING BY MEDIA FOR THE TOP 200 BRANDS (in millions $)*

Rank	Media	1990	1989	% Change
1.	Network TV	$3,213.3	2,684.4	19.7%
2.	Spot TV	1,392.5	1,261.8	10.4
3.	Magazine	968.9	1,017.2	-4.8
4.	Newspaper	911.3	860.5	5.9
5.	Barter Syndication	407.3	250.6	62.5
6.	Cable TV Networks	215.8	167.4	28.9
7.	Network Radio	156.2	149.6	4.4
8	Sunday Magazine	81.2	94.1	-13.7
9.	Outdoor	68.2	28.9	-1.0

*As measured by the first half spending of 1989 and 1990.

Source: LNA/Arbitron Multi-Meida Service, 1990

alternative programs for barter advertisers.

It was found that the overall domestic syndication industry has developed from a moderately concentrated market to the threshold of becoming a highly concentrated programming market during the past ten years. The trend of concentration is especially significant for the first-run syndicators who offer many barter opportunities. According to a market concentration study of the syndicators between 1980 and 1990 (Chan-Olmsted, 1991), the first-run syndication market was found to have grown from moderately concentrated in the early 1980s to highly concentrated in 1990. The development, however, does not immediately translate into an inadequate control of barter spots and pricing. Since barter advertising is still in its growing stage in competing with the more established network and spot advertising, large barter syndicators are not expected to exercise their market power to manipulate the pricing or supply of barter spots as the big three networks do. It is more likely that the leading, bigger barter syndicators would utilize their scale economies to improve the efficiency and quality of their barter advertising practices, thus facilitating the competitiveness of this advertising media alternative.

Conclusions

Barter syndication offers regional and national advertisers alternatives to network advertising. It is a

hybrid advertising form, providing a close substitute to network advertising with universal exposure as well as greater program identification for sponsors. It is believed that barter syndication is yet to reach its maturity. As the national audience and the programming cost for syndicated programs continue to increase, more cost-conscious, risk averse broadcasters will tend to alleviate the high capital programming investment with barter transaction terms, while more advertisers may consider utilizing this media alternative.

Barter sales are expected to remain an important growth area of the syndication industry. However, if the soft economy and the advertising outlook improve, more stations may prefer to retain more commercial minutes in their barter arrangement. In general, the future of barter advertising will largely depend on the nation's economic strength and barter syndicators' ability to improve both the buying process and evaluation reporting (e.g., ratings information), and thus make barter a more competitive alternative to spot and network advertising.

Notes

1. For complete survey on the development of the content and form of the first-run television syndication between 1947 and 1987, see Erickson's Syndicated Television: the first forty years, 1947-1987.

2. The Prime Time Access Rule, implemented in 1970 by the Federal Communications Commission, confines network entertainment programming to a maximum of three of the four prime-time hours (7:00 P.M. to 11:00 P.M. Eastern time). Thus, the first hour of the prime time is called the "access" hour. The rule also prohibits affiliated stations in the top 50 broadcast markets from airing off-network reruns during the one-hour "access" time.

3. The Financial Interest and Syndication Rule went into effect in 1972. The rule prohibits the networks from acquiring any financial interest in independently produced television programs, except the exclusive license for network exhibition within the U.S. It also forbids the networks from participating in the domestic syndication of any programming and performing any foreign syndication of non-network produced programs.

4. The syndicators resume the production of these programs, which are sold in the syndicated programming market as first-run product when enough episodes are produced.

5. The rate of clearance of a syndicated program means the percentage of the U.S. television households that are reached by the stations that carry the program.

6. There is only a limited number of time slots available for the exhibition of syndicated programming in the broadcast stations. During the recent years, because of an unprecedented number of successful shows returning to the syndication market, there is less and less room for the airing of new syndicated product. Thus, a time scarcity problem has gradually developed.

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EFFECT AND EFFECTIVENESS OF 'NEGATIVE' ADVERTISING IN THE 1988 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

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EFFECT AND EFFECTIVENESS OF NEGATIVE ADVERTISING IN THE 1988 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

ABSTRACT

This study looks at exposure to "negative"/attack advertising, evaluation of a political campaign, and likelihood of voting. In an October 1988 national survey (N = 1394), Bush ads were judged more negative than Dukakis ads and were more memorable; higher exposure levels to both candidates' ads corresponded with more unfavorable evaluation of the campaign; and the least likely voters evaluated the campaigns most unfavorably. Contrary to expectations, however, exposure to the advertising did not predict a decreased likelihood of voting.

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EFFECT AND EFFECTIVENESS OF NEGATIVE ADVERTISING IN THE 1988 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

In a time of weakened political parties, candidates for public office increasingly depend on the mass media for many functions once performed by the parties. Candidate communications now handled largely though mass media include informational as well as persuasive messages. The majority of the voting age population gets most of its (issue and "image" or character) information about candidates from radio, television, newspapers and computerized direct mail.

Candidates exert varying amounts of control over these media messages, and have close control over political advertisements. Campaign budgets underscore the importance of advertising, and television advertising above all. Throughout the 1980s, greater percentages of campaign budgets for all major offices have been devoted to the costs of developing, producing, and placing television ads (Ansolabehere et. al, 1991).

Concurrent with the trend of higher expenditures on TV commercials, political ads are becoming increasingly negative. Negative political commercials--that is, those that center on an attack against an opposing candidate rather than a promotion of the candidate sponsoring the ad--first gained widespread attention in the 1980 elections (Tarrance, 1982). But the majority of those ads were produced and placed by independent sources, not the candidates or the political parties. Because of perceived risk that negative advertising could adversely affect voter perceptions of the attacker,

it took several elections for this strategy to gain widespread acceptance by the campaigns of major party candidates. Campaign strategists now generally feel that negative spots sponsored directly by candidates against an opponent can be effective (Toner, 1990). The 1988 presidential campaign marked the first time that both candidates for that high office based their television advertising strategies on a predominantly negative approach.

Concurrently, voter turnout hit a 50-year low in 1988. Several explanations for this decline could be posited, but the focus of the present study is on the relationship, if any, between a negative advertising campaign and voters' unfavorable assessment of the candidates and the political process. Specifically, this paper looks at whether exposure to political advertising int he 1988 presidential campaign had an effect on evaluations of the candidates' conduct of the overall campaign, and also on the likelihood of voting. Did exposure to the advertising lead to assessments that the conduct of the campaign was unfair? And finally, can it be determined whether "negative" advertising by these presidential candidates contributed to a lower probability of voting?

Review of the Literature

Political communication and the influence of advertising or paid media on election outcomes have been important research areas for many decades. One of the most comprehensive early studies of voting behavior was The People's Choice (Lazarsfeld, Berelson & Gaudet, 1948) undertaken at the Columbia University's bureau of Applied Social Research. The researchers conducted a series of interviews with over 3,000 randomly selected adults in Erie County, Ohio, in the six months

leading up to the presidential election of 1940. Among their finding was that the respondents who paid the most attention to "political propaganda" were those who had made firm candidate choices early in the campaign. Thus, "insofar as campaign propaganda was intended to change votes, it was most likely to reach people least susceptible to such charges" (Lazarsfeld et al., 1948, p. 125).

The Erie County study also found that radio was more influential than newspapers on the behavior of the undecided voter. Respondents were significantly more likely to mention radio messages than newspapers sources as reasons for deciding during the campaign on one of the candidates. Among the explanations offered by the researchers for the greater efficacy of radio was that the medium was more personal: "Politics on the air more readily becomes an active experience for the listener than politics in the newspaper does for the reader" (Lazarsfeld et al., p. 129).

A seminal work on how people use the political content of mass media is Blumler and McQuail's (1969) study of the 1964 British general elections. Television in Politics identified motivations both for using and avoiding political programs on television. Use motivations included surveillance of the political environment, reinforcement of existing political views, and communication utility. Political programs studied were evening news broadcasts and several politically oriented series on BBC and ITV, as well as 5- to 30-minute party broadcasts on these channels. The latter were the only paid media--the rough equivalent of political commercials--then on British television.

Patterson and McClure (1976) looked at what they termed the myth

of television power in national politics. An important finding was that campaign commercials were informative, helping respondents learn about the candidates issues stands. However, the researchers found little evidence that political ads were persuasive or influential in vote guidance. The least informed respondents were most likely to be affected by political ads, so that only persons who did not pay attention to news coverage of the campaign were likely to use advertising for vote guidance.

A study by Kennamer (1987) looked at the effect of media use, or attention to news on television and in newspapers, during an election campaign on the likelihood of voting. Political advertising was not among the variable considered. Kennamer concluded that attention to news media has both direct and indirect effects on intent to vote, although the reported standardized betas in the path model did not strongly support that conclusion (Kennamer, 1987, p. 298). For instance, attention to newspaper coverage of the campaigns was shown to have no direct effect on intent to vote, while the direct effect of attention to TV news produced a standardized beta of .15. The author suggests that since newspaper attention has more impact on cognitions (std. beta = .16) than does TV news attention (.11), it may be that newspapers affect voting indirectly through cognitions while "television's impact is more direct, and perhaps more directly motivational" (Kennamer, 1987, p. 300).

Hofstetter and Zukin (1979) conducted a content analysis of network TV news coverage of the 1972 presidential campaign and of the candidates' television advertising. They found that the commercials contained significantly more issue relevant information than did

network news coverage. However, neither format presented considerable issues analysis, and the researchers criticized television for failure to help voters make candidate comparisons on issues.

Scholars also have devoted attention to negative political advertising, in which one candidate is criticized by either an opponent or an independent source such as a political action committee or PAC. Tarrance (1982) studied public attitudes following heavy PAC spending in selected 1980 U.S. Senate contests. Tarrance found that respondents held generally unfavorable attitudes toward the PACs sponsoring ads attacking incumbent senators and toward some of the advertising.

Garramone (1985) found that attacks on a candidate by a third party, such as a PAC, were more effective than having the opposing candidate appear in the commercials. Independent sponsorship resulted in less of a backlash effect of negative viewer perceptions of the sponsor along with the intended negative perceptions of the target.

Merritt (1984) also looked at the backlash or boomerang effect in negative political advertising, studying a California legislative district during the last week of a campaign for state representative in which both candidates employed negative advertising. The attack ads were candidate sponsored, so that PAC sponsorship was not at issue here. Merritt found that negative perceptions toward the target occurred only among respondents already predisposed toward the target, the boomerang effect on the attacker was clear. Among undecided respondents, negative affect toward target and attacker was split about evenly.

Roddy and Garramone (1989) compared the effectiveness of

different kinds of negative ads, operationalized as issue-attack and image-attack appeals. The study also was designed to determine the relative effectiveness of responding to negative ads either with a counterattack (negative response) or with a commercial that ignored the attack and praised the target (positive response). The researchers found that issue-attack commercials were more effective than image-attack commercials when followed by either type of response commercial. They suggested that "campaign planners...may be wiser to address an opponent's weaknesses on issues than to attack the opponent's character" (Roddy & Garramone, 1988, p. 425). Viewers evaluated the positive-response was more effective in counter-active viewer disposition toward voting for the candidate making the original attack. Thus, "although the negative response commercial itself may be less liked than a positive response commercial, it may still be more effective in creating a backlash against the attacker" (Roddy & Garramone, p. 425).

Johnson-Cartee and Copeland (1989) found that 65% of survey respondents said they disliked candidates attacking each other in television ads. But the research showed that voters perceive some types of advertising content, but not others, as fair areas for attack. Unacceptable areas for use against an opponent were personal life, current or past marriage, family members, religion , medical history, and sex life. It would seem, however, that most negative political advertising falls outside the realm of attacks on these types of personal characteristics.

Martinez and Delegal (1990) found that negative political advertising does not significantly affect voters' trust in the

political system. A 1988 survey conducted in Florida "showed only a modest correlation between perceived negativity of the presidential campaign and low trust" (Martinez and Delegal, 1990, p. 25). The present study looks at the relationship between negative advertising and candidate/campaign evaluation, and likelihood of voting.

Advertising in the 1988 Presidential Campaign

In 1984 television and radio advertising accounted for approximately 50 percent of general election costs nationwide for Democratic and Republican candidates for major offices (Graber, 1989). At the presidential level, the campaigns of Ronald Reagan and Walter Mondale each spent just over $20 million on broadcast advertising, or slightly more than 50 percent of their general election budgets. The post-convention presidential campaigns of 1988 topped all previous years both in amount and percent spent for broadcast advertising (Lynch, 1988).

A distinctive characteristic of 1988 presidential advertising was its negative tone. The Bush campaign was charged with distortion of his opponent's record more than was the Dukakis campaign (see Getlin, 1988, and Grove, 1988c). But Dukakis also frequently resorted to negative advertising--in which the main point of a commercial was an attack on Bush or the Reagan-Bush administration.

CBS News compiled a list describing the television commercials aired by each campaign between Labor Day and late October. These included network and regional spot buys. Of the 15 Bush commercials aired during that period, 7 were ads that attacked Dukakis' record or stand on issues. The remaining Bush ads either concerned aspects of

his biography or record in office or were "feel good" image oriented spots (Lynch, 1988).

The Dukakis campaign and the Democratic National Committee produced and aired no fewer than 30 different commercials during the same two-month period. Half, or 15 of these spots can be characterized as negative or attack ads, and several others contained portions of Bush attack ads and proceeded with on-camera Dukakis rebuttals (Lynch, 1988). But the negative-positive mix in the television ad campaign may have leaned even more heavily negative than this tally suggests. The Washington Post estimated that the Bush campaign aired three negative ads for every two positive ones (Taylor & Broder, 1988), and said that by mid-October Dukakis was "airing virtually an all-negative array of ads" (Grove, 1988b, p. A20).

Methodology

The data from this study come form a telephone survey conducted October 21-25, 1988, by professional interviewers for CBS News and The New York Times. A total of 1,827 interviews with adults were completed in the nationwide random sample; only self-described registered voters (N = 1,394) are included in this analysis.

Exposure to televised advertisements for the candidates was measured by asking respondents: "In the past week, have you seen any commercials on television for George Bush?" If the respondents said yes, they were asked: "How much attention have you paid to these commercials for George Bush--a lot, some , not much, or no attention?" This was followed by a measure of how truthful respondents perceived the commercials to be; an open-ended question asking respondents to

describe the one commercial for Bush "that make the biggest impression on you"; and finally, if the respondent was able to identify a specific commercial, he or she was asked: "Did that commercial make you think better of Bush, or worse of Dukakis, or didn't it do either?" The same sequence of questions was repeated for commercials for Michael Dukakis.

Other sections of the questionnaire addressed evaluation of the conduct of the presidential campaign. Respondents compared the 1988 campaign to past presidential campaigns in terms of negativity. They were asked whether either of the candidates had made unfair charges against his opponent. In addition, respondents evaluated whether the candidates were, "spending more time" explaining what they would do as president or attacking each other.

Two variables used in this analysis--overall evaluation of the campaign and probability of voting--represent combinations of individual items. The Evaluation of Campaign measure is a scale (alpha = .86) based on respondents' answers to six variables. Respondents were assigned one point on this scale for the following answers:

Satisfied with candidate choices	+1
Campaign more positive	+1
Not making unfair charges	+1
Bush "explaining" more	+1
Dukakis "explaining" more	+1
Campaign is interesting	+1

A relatively high score thus means that the respondent evaluated the campaign positively.

Probability of voting was a combination of respondents' answers

to who likely it is that they will vote in the election, how much attention they paid to the campaign, whether they voted in the 1984 presidential election, and whether they had lived in the same community for the past two years. Frequencies for these two new variable are reported in Table 1.

Table 1 Frequencies, scaled variables

Evaluation of campaign		Voting Probability	
Very negative	22%	Least likely	17%
Negative	31	Fairly likely	26
Neutral	22	Likely	34
Positive	25	Most likely	24
	100%		100%

N = 1,394 registered voters

Results and Analysis

Almost two-thirds of the sample's registered voters said they had seen advertisements for the candidates within the past week (63% had seen commercials for Bush, 57% for Dukakis). Of these respondents, approximately 60% reported paying "a lot" or "some" attention to the ads.

Respondents expressed skepticism about the content of the 1988 presidential advertising. For each candidate's ads, the survey asked "have almost all of them been truthful, or have some of them been truthful and some false, or have almost all of them been false?" Less than one-third of the sample (29% for each candidate) said almost all the commercials had been truthful.

The Bush campaign team apparently had far greater success in producing memorable commercials than did the Dukakis campaign. When

asked to describe a particular commercial for each candidate, respondents tended to give vague answers about Dukakis spots. However, several specific Bush commercials were identified, including the anti-Dukakis spots "revolving door" (8%) and "tank" (8%).

In a follow-up to the open-ended question, voters were asked whether that specific commercial make them think better of sponsor, worse of the target, or did it have neither effect. The results showed statistically significant differences between reactions to the two candidates' commercials (Table 2). The Bush commercials recalled were more likely to produce a negative evaluation of the opposing candidate. On the other hand, Dukakis spots of the opposing candidate. On the other hand, Dukakis spots seen to have worked more effectively in promoting the candidate's own qualifications for the office. In each case a majority of respondents reported that the commercials had neither effect.

Table 2 Response to Bush and Dukakis Commercials

"Did that commercial make you feel..."

Bush commercial		Dukakis commercial	
"better about Bush"	"worse about Dukakis"	"better about Dukakis"	"worse about Bush"
25%	14%	36%	5%
N = 631 (Rs identifying specific commercial for Bush)		N = 573 (Rs ID'ing specific cmcl for Dukakis)	

X2 = 19. 23834 p.< .01

Perhaps a more interesting analysis is to look at the overall effect of exposure to advertising on voters' evaluation of the

presidential campaign. For this analysis, the sample was subdivided into two groups: 1) respondents (N = 697) who said they had seen a commercial for both Bush and Dukakis during the past week; and 2) respondents (N = 390) who said they had not seen commercials for either candidate during the past week. These groups then were compared on three measures that evaluated the conduct of the presidential campaign.

This analysis showed that respondents who had seen the candidates' television advertising were significantly more likely then non-viewers to call the 1988 presidential campaign "more negative" than previous presidential campaigns (Table 3). Respondents exposed to advertising were significantly more likely to say that the candidates were making "unfair charges" against opponents (Table 4).

Table 3 Unfair Charges by Exposure to Ads
("Compared with past presidential campaigns, do you think the campaign this year has been more positive, more negative, or about the same?")

	Ad viewers	Non-ad viewers
Unfair charges:		
BOTH	53%	38%
NEITHER	38	52

N = 1,017
x2 = 15.65, p < .01
(Other respondents had no answer or said campaign more positive)

Table 4. Unfair Charges by Exposure to Ads
("Regardless of how you intend to vote, do you think either of the presidential campaigns have made unfair charges against the opposing candidates?")

	Ad viewers	Non-ad viewers
Unfair charges:		
BOTH	51%	40%
NEITHER	19	24

$x2 = 6.5$, $p < .05$ (N=1,017)
(Other respondents had no answer or named one campaign)

A third measure asked whether George Bush was spending more time in his campaign " explaining what he would do as Presidents, or attacking Michael Dukakis." The same question asked about how Dukakis was conducting his campaign. Respondents who had recently seen commercials for the candidates were significantly more likely than non-viewers to say that the Bush campaign was based more on attacks (Table 5). Interestingly enough, the same question about the Dukakis campaign showed no difference between ad viewers and non-ad viewers: 36% thought Dukakis was doing more "explaining," while 47% thought he was "attacking."

It also was hypothesized that exposure to televised campaign advertising would lead to a decrease in voting likelihood--either directly or through an overall negative campaign evaluation. In the following analyses, combined or scaled variables were used. In addition to the scales presented in Table 1 above, a scaled measure of exposure to advertising was used. For this scale (alpha = .88), each

case received a score (0-6) based on both exposure and attention to the candidates' ads:

Seen ads for Bush	+1
"A lot" of attention	+2
"Some" attention	+1
Seen ads for Dukakis	+1
"A lot" of attention	+2
"Some" attention	+1

Table 5 Bush "Attacking/Explaining" by Exposure to Ads

("What do you think George Bush is spending more time doing in his campaign--explaining what he would do as president or attacking Michael Dukakis?")

	Ad viewers	Non-ad viewers
BUSH IS:		
Explaining	30%	47%
Attacking	52	44

N = 1.017
x2 = 13.7, p < .01
(Other respondents had no answer or said "both equal")

The new variable "Exposure/attention to advertising" was then collapsed and recoded. Table 6 shows the frequencies for this variable.

Table 6 Frequencies, Exposure/attention to Advertising

No ads seen	29%
Some attention	33
Moderate attn	27
High attention	11
	100%

N = 1,394

These data show a direct relationship between a negative campaign evaluation and voting probability: less likely voters evaluated the campaign most negatively. That is, 53% of the least likely voters,

59% of fairly unlikely voters, 51% of probable voters and 47% of definite voters evaluated the campaign negatively or very negatively (Table 7).

Table 7 Evaluation of Campaign by Voting Probability

		EVALUATION			
V		Very Negative	Negative	Neutral	Positive
O	Least likely	18%	17%	15%	15%
T	Fairly likely	29	28	19	26
I	Very likely	30	35	37	29
N	Most likely	24	20	28	30
G		100%	100%	100%	100%

N = 1,394
Chi-square = 16.94 $p < .05$

In looking at direct effects of political advertising on voting intent, exposure and attention to Bush or Dukakis ads on television was crosstabulated with voting likelihood (Table 8). The hypothesis that exposure to these negative ads would lead to a decrease in intent to vote was not confirmed. In fact, the relationship between these two variables was the reverse of that hypothesized, wherein exposure to advertising may reinforce intent to vote.

Discussion and Conclusions

Overall, these data confirm that the public perceived the Bush advertising campaign as heavily negative, that his ads nonetheless were more effective than Dukakis', and that the entire campaign--by both candidates--was "dirtied" by the way advertising was used.

Table 8 Exposure to Ads by Probability of Voting

		A D S			
		None	Some Attn	Moder-ate	High attn
V					
	Least likely	21%	20%	12%	8%
O					
	Fairly likely	31	30	17	22
T					
	Very likely	33	33	40	23
I					
	Most likely	15	17	31	47
N		100%	100%	100%	100%
G					

N = 1,394
Chi-square = 116.18 p < .001

It was predicted that because the presidential advertising was so negative, exposure to it would lead to a decreased likelihood of voting. That this expectation was not confirmed may be explained because the most definite voters seek out information about politics in the media. These individuals pay more attention to political ads--not accepting the negative ads of the 1988 campaign--because of a particular advertising campaign as negative apparently is not likely to prevent these citizens from voting.

Among the lessons to be learned from the way advertising was used in the 1988 presidential campaign, one of the most instructive for future candidates and their advisors may be that George Bush's negative advertising was memorable and thus effective. It broke through the clutter. And although the two candidates' advertising contributed to unfavorable evaluations of the way the campaign was conducted, the advertising apparently did not "turn off" many voters to the point that they decided not to vote.

Since both candidates engaged in negative advertising, it is

impossible to know whether one candidate's staying away from the form would have turned into an advantage. As it was, the research reported in this paper does not present strong evidence that would warn future presidential candidates to avoid attack ads. In politics, whether a strategy or tactic works is what matters most. For George Bush in 1988, at least, negative advertising worked.

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JOB SATISFACTION AMONG ADVERTISING PROFESSORS

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Job Satisfaction
Among Advertising Professors

There is little doubt that the character of journalism/mass communication (JMC) education has changed dramatically over the past several years. Traditional news journalism, on which most JMC programs are based, is no longer the dominant major among JMC students. The number of advertising faculty grew by 166% over the past 25 years and the number of advertising degrees granted grew by 474% (Ross & Schweitzer, 1990). Advertising majors now constitute about 17% of the total number of JMC majors in the nation's schools and departments of JMC. Becker (1990) said:

> Advertising . . . was the dominant specialization in 1989, both in terms of actual numbers of students enrolled and actual number of degrees granted as well as projections from those numbers.
>
> The dominant sequences or specializations, overall, were advertising, public relations, news-editorial, radio/television, and broadcast news, in that order (pp. 10-11).

And, some 87% of all advertising programs are located in JMC programs (Ross & Schweitzer, 1990). While the changing mix of students and faculty in JMC programs has not gone unnoticed, the *structural* changes which have resulted have largely been ignored by JMC researchers. "The problem of modern organizations is . . . to construct human groupings that are as rational as possible, and at the same time produce a minimum of undesirable side effects and a maximum of satisfaction" (Etzioni, 1964, p. 2). Dave Weaver, president of AEJMC in 1988-89 received some notoriety within JMC education circles when he suggested that he did not know whether non-traditional courses of instruction (such as advertising and public relations) should be taught in JMC programs or whether they more properly belonged in business schools. Bowers (1989) also addressed the changing mix of majors among JMC students.

Despite the growing number of advertising students and faculty in JMC programs across the country, little is known about those who teach advertising. On the other hand, several researchers have studied the American professoriate in general (Bowen & Schuster, 1986; Ladd, & Lipset, 1976; Mooney, 1990) and the JMC professoriate in particular (Fedler & Counts, 1982; Weaver & Wilhoit, 1988). Still others have compared the satisfaction of male and female JMC faculties (Fedler, Counts, & Smith, 1984; Kelly, 1989). And, the research and other activities of JMC faculty have been studied (Endres & Wearden, 1990; Greenberg & Schweitzer, 1989; Schweitzer, 1988; Schweitzer & Hudson, 1990; Wulfemeyer, Sneed, & Van Ommeren, 1989). The research productivity of advertising faculty has also been investigated (Barry, 1990; Schweitzer & Bates, 1991; Soley & Reid, 1988).

Weaver (1989) studied job satisfaction among marketing faculty, but no research could be found that examined job satisfaction among advertising faculty. Weaver and Wilhoit (1988) said that "Few fields are as plagued with doubts about definitions and boundaries of the field as journalism and mass communication" (p. 29). Because of the dominance of advertising majors and faculty in traditionally news-editorial oriented JMC programs, it is important to discover how advertising professors perceive their departments, their colleagues and their jobs. The rapid growth of advertising majors has led to a shortage of advertising faculty (Ross & Schweitzer, 1989) and provides opportunity for increased mobility of advertising faculty. An understanding of advertising faculties' job satisfaction could aid in attracting and retaining qualified faculty.

Job Satisfaction

Abraham Maslow (1954) was a major influence on the study of job satisfaction. Maslow's hierarchy of needs theory postulated that human needs motivate individuals to action. And, according to his theory, human needs are arranged in a hierarchy from lower, primal, needs to higher, or intellectual, needs. The primary needs of all humans are survival; the need for food, shelter and safety. Higher-order needs, according to Maslow, are not motivators until lower-order needs are satisfied. But, once lower- order needs have been satisfied, humans begin trying to satisfy such higher-order needs as self-fulfillment.

Herzberg's (1959) two-factor theory modified Maslow's need- theory and prompted a great deal of job-satisfaction research. Herzberg's two factor, or motivation-hygiene, theory argued that certain factors in the job situation lead to job satisfaction and other factors lead to job dissatisfaction. Factors which lead to job satisfaction are called motivators and are higher-order needs such as the need for self-determination and interesting, challenging work. Dissatisfaction, according to Herzberg, is not the opposite of satisfaction. Rather, dissatisfaction is caused by factors external to the job itself such as pay, supervision and working conditions.

Management theorists agree that motivation is a function of job satisfaction. There are several motivation theories, but Porter and Miles (1974) proposed a systems perspective that subsumed the ideas of content, process and reinforcement theories of motivation and job satisfaction. Porter and Miles argued that three sets of variables accounted for motivation in organizations: individual characteristics, job characteristics and work- situation characteristics. Individual characteristics include interests, attitudes and needs of the individual. Job characteristics include the amount of responsibility, the variety of tasks, and the intrinsic nature of the job. Work-situation characteristics include factors in the work environment.

Job satisfaction, especially among white collar, professional employees tends to be rooted in factors intrinsic to the work itself (Katz & Kahn, 1966). For example, one study measured intrinsic satisfaction with an index consisting of the answers to four questions: How well do you

like the sort of work you are doing? Does your job give you a chance to do the things you feel you do best? Do you get any feeling of accomplishment from the work you are doing? How do you feel about your work; does it rate as an important job with you? (Morse, 1953). The results strongly suggested that high-level occupational groups ". . . derive important satisfaction from the expression of their skills, in interesting and challenging work and in the sense of accomplishment from successful performance" (Katz & Kahn, 1966, p. 370).

Job satisfaction was also been found to be related to the organization in which people work, their relative rank in the organization and gender (Katz & Kahn, 1966).

Job satisfaction is important because it is believed that it is related to job performance. And, the enthusiasm and effectiveness of individuals' performance translates into organizational effectiveness (Etzioni, 1964). Because the majority of advertising professors are working in journalism-oriented programs, their job satisfaction is especially important to the overall effectiveness of the program.

Recently, Mooney (1990) reported the results of a national study of the American professoriate conducted by the U.S. Department of Education. In addition to a demographic portrait of the professoriate, the study also reported the level of job satisfaction of the faculty on a number of dimensions. The study reported here was partially based on the questions asked in the Department of Education's study so direct comparisons between advertising professors and the national sample of professors could be made.

Research Questions

Based on previous research, the study reported here asked the following four research questions.

1. Does job satisfaction among advertising professors differ significantly if they work in business schools or in JMC?
2. Does job satisfaction differ by the degree granted by the university in which they work (B.A./B.S., M.A./M.S., or D.B.A./Ph.D.?
3. Does job satisfaction differ by tenure status?
4. Does job satisfaction differ by academic rank?
5. Does job satisfaction differ by gender?

Method

In the fall of 1990, a mailing list of all members of the American Academy of Advertising (AAA) and the advertising division of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (AEJMC) was developed. After eliminating duplication, a mailing list of some 692 names and addresses was developed. It can be argued that membership in one or both of these

organizations does not constitute the entire population of advertising educators and that is undoubtedly true. Nevertheless, the membership of these organizations is composed of educators from virtually every major advertising program in the country and, it is suggested, the members of these organizations are the most influential in advertising education. They are, therefore, probably the most important to survey.

A four-page questionnaire was designed and mailed in early 1991 to all 692 names. The questionnaire was designed to measure job satisfaction, among other things, using many of the same questions used in the Mooney (1990) study.

An enormous amount of data were collected in the study, and will be analyzed in several stages. Only the portion of the study dealing with job satisfaction is reported here. Several of the job-satisfaction statements posed to faculty nationally (Mooney, 1990) were repeated in this study and others dealing with job satisfaction were added. A total of 10 Likert-type statements were included to measure job satisfaction. Respondents were asked to agree or disagree with each of the statements.

The results reported here are a look at job satisfaction of advertising faculty in both business and JMC programs around the country. As of March 1991, some 235 questionnaires had been returned for a response rate of 34%. Of the 235 questionnaires returned, 23 were unusable for various reasons including respondents who said they did not teach advertising courses. The results reported here are based on 212 useable questionnaires.

Data analysis included descriptive statistics, regression analysis using overall job satisfaction (measured on a five-point scale ranging from "very satisfied" to "very dissatisfied) as the dependent variable, and factor analysis to determine the major factors affecting job satisfaction.

Results

Satisfaction by Discipline

The responses were first analyzed by discipline. Business and JMC faculty significantly differed in their responses to only one statement. Significantly more advertising professors in business schools than in JMC programs were satisfied with the "authority I have to follow my own research/scholarly interests (Table 1).

Perhaps more interesting was that, with the exception of the authority faculty had to make decisions about course content, fewer business and JMC faculty were "very" or "somewhat" satisfied with each of eight other statements included in the national survey than the national sample of faculty. For example, although less than half (42%) of the business and JMC faculty were satisfied with their salaries, 58% of the national survey respondents reported being "very" or "somewhat" satisfied. An even greater disparity existed between total advertising faculty (60%) and the national sample (79%) with respect to their satisfaction with the "amount of time available

for working with students as an advisor or mentor. Fewer JMC faculty (59%) reported being satisfied with this dimension than business faculty (63%). Another area in which both business and JMC faculty substantially differed from faculty nationally was with respect to their perceptions of the quality of their colleagues. Only 67% of the business and JMC faculty were "very" or "somewhat" satisfied with the quality of their colleagues compared to 84% of the faculty in the national survey. These results are reported in Table 1.

Satisfaction by Highest Degree Offered

Because of relatively more importance placed on research and scholarship by programs offering graduate degrees than those offering only bachelor's degrees (Schweitzer, 1988), respondents' answers to the job satisfaction items were analyzed by the highest degree offered by the program in which they taught. Here there was remarkable agreement among the faculty regardless of the highest degree offered by the school or department in which they were located. Again, less than half of all the advertising faculty were satisfied with their salaries. Slightly less than half (49%) of the faculty in doctoral programs were satisfied with the time they had for working with students as advisors or mentors (Table 2).

Satisfaction by Tenure Status

It would seem clear that non-tenured faculty might be under more stress and pressure than tenured faculty (Bowen & Schuster, 1986). For that reason, responses were analyzed by tenure status.

Indeed, there were significant differences in responses to three statements by tenure status. Significantly fewer temporary faculty were satisfied with their authority to pursue their own research/scholarly interests than tenure-track or tenured faculty.

Significantly fewer non-tenured faculty were satisfied with their authority to select which, if any, service activities in which to participate. Still, 73% of the non-tenured faculty were "very" or "somewhat" satisfied with this component compared to 88% of the tenured faculty.

Significantly fewer non-tenured faculty than tenured faculty were satisfied with the time available for working with students as an advisor or mentor.

Finally, fewer non-tenured faculty than tenured faculty were satisfied with the required mix of teaching, research and service, but the difference was not statistically significant.

Again, the lowest level of satisfaction across the board was with salary; less than half of each group of faculty was satisfied with their salaries. All these results are shown in Table 3.

Satisfaction by Academic Rank

Several differences in satisfaction among faculty were found by academic rank. The several ranks differed significantly on five separate dimensions of job satisfaction.

Significantly fewer assistant professors were satisfied with their authority to make decisions about course content than either associate or full professors. Interestingly, 100% of the instructor/lecturers were "very" or "somewhat" satisfied with this aspect of their jobs, as were associate professors.

A more serious, but perhaps understandable, finding was that significantly fewer assistant professors than full professors were satisfied with their authority to follow their own research/scholarly interests. Although associate professors were not 100% satisfied with this dimension, as were full professors, the difference in responses was not statistically significant. Significantly fewer instructor/lecturers were satisfied with this dimension than either the tenured or tenure-track faculty.

Satisfaction with authority to select which service activities in which to participate was directly related to rank, with level of satisfaction increasing by rank. Significantly fewer assistant professors were satisfied with this dimension than either associate or full professors. Not as many associate professors were satisfied as full professors on this dimension, but not significantly fewer.

With respect to time available for working with students, significantly fewer assistant professors were satisfied than either instructors or full professors. With the exception of instructor/lecturers, the number of faculty expressing satisfaction with this dimension increased across ranks, but the increases were not necessarily significant.

The number of faculty expressing satisfaction with the required mix of teaching, research, service and administration increased significantly from assistant to associate to full professor rank.

Dissatisfaction with salary was strong among all faculty regardless of rank. Curiously, however, fewer associate professors were dissatisfied than either assistant or full professors, but the number of dissatisfied was not significantly different from the other ranks.

See Table 4 for the detailed results.

Satisfaction by Gender

Satisfaction was also examined by gender. Significantly fewer women than men were satisfied with their jobs, the amount of time they had to work with students, and with the required mix of teaching, research, service and administration. On the other hand, significantly more women than men were satisfied with their authority to pursue their own research/scholarly interests. Again, the majority of men and women were dissatisfied with their salary, and fewer women than men were satisfied with departmental leadership, but the difference between them were not significant (Table 5).

The advertising faculty sampled here, including those teaching in business schools, were considerably less satisfied than the national sample with respect to the quality of their colleagues; time available for working with students; required mix of teaching, research and service; quality of leadership in the department and their salaries. Indeed, advertising faculty's satisfaction met or exceeded the national sample's satisfaction on only one dimension of job satisfaction: the authority they have to make decisions about course content.

These data clearly suggest that all is not well among advertising faculty and does not bode well for the future of advertising education. Advertising faculty are already in short supply and if they are dissatisfied with their jobs, they very well may leave for the greener pastures of the advertising business where they are very likely to earn considerably more money.

Still, the results are not all bad. Even though the respondents' level of satisfaction is not as high as that of the faculty as a whole, they are reasonably satisfied with most dimensions of their jobs. And, with the exception of salary, this level of satisfaction does not differ significantly by the highest degree offered by the program in which they teach. That is, faculty in Ph.D. granting programs are no more or less satisfied than those in programs offering only the bachelor's or master's degree.

Satisfaction by Academic Rank

On the other hand, there is some cause for concern about faculty job satisfaction when academic rank is taken into consideration. Professors are significantly more satisfied than assistant professors on five of the job-satisfaction variables. Assistant professors are significantly less satisfied than professors with the authority they have to make decisions about course content, the authority they have to follow their own research or scholarly interests, the authority they have to select the service activities in which to participate, the time available to work with students and with the required mix of teaching, research and service.

While it is beyond the scope of this study to elaborate on these differences in satisfaction, it is clear that department administrators should look into these factors among their junior faculty. It seems clear that if large numbers of junior faculty perceive that they are not being treated equitably with more senior faculty on these variables, they are potential candidates for leaving the department if not the academy. One can only speculate as to *why* they are less satisfied, but the results show that the sources of lower levels of satisfaction among the junior faculty are the very dimensions on which they will be judged in future promotion and tenure decisions (Schweitzer, 1989). These findings suggest that junior faculty may believe they are being put in a disadvantageous position to accomplish what they know will be expected when they apply (or are required to apply) for tenure and promotion.

Regression Analysis

To test the notion that overall job satisfaction is made up of a number of variables, each of which contribute in different ways to satisfaction, a multiple regression analysis was conducted. For this analysis, the item, "my job, overall" was used as the dependent variable. Each of the other nine statements were treated as independent variables.

The first regression equation was significant, but three of the independent variables (research, service and time to spend with students) were not significant and contributed little to the overall R-squared value. Therefore, a second regression in which those variables were excluded was done. The equation showed that the relative contribution to overall job satisfaction was greatest for quality of colleagues, followed in order by leadership of the department, authority for course content, required mix of teaching, research, service and administration, salary and quality of undergraduates. Thus, overall job satisfaction was based on these six variables; four of which were extrinsic to the job, and two intrinsic to the job. These six variables explained 45% of the total variance in overall job satisfaction (Table 6).

Factor Analysis

Finally, the results were subjected to factor analysis to discover the degree to which responses on the variables were related to each other and perhaps to discover why three of the variables in the regression analysis did not contribute to overall job satisfaction. That is, some of the variables included in the study and in the regression analysis might have been tapping some of the same dimensions among the respondents.

Believing that job satisfaction might be related to the traditional criteria of university teaching (teaching, research and service), the program was "instructed" to extract three factors using varimax rotation. The three-factor solution (eigenvalues of 1.0 or greater) explained 61% of the variance in job satisfaction. The first factor (eigenvalue = 3.93) contained four variables: colleagues, job, leadership, and undergraduates taught. None of these variables have to do with the job itself; they all have to do with the job environment so the factor was named "extrinsic." The second factor extracted (eigenvalue = 1.14) consisted of five variables: course content, research, service, time for students and the mix of teaching, research and service. These variables all have to do with the job itself; they measure the person's control over how the job is performed, so the factor was named "intrinsic." The third factor (eigenvalue = 1.07) contained only one variable, salary, and was named "economic" (Table 7).

Discussion

The results show that, on the whole, advertising faculty are less satisfied with several components of their jobs than the national sample of the professoriate reported by Mooney (1989).

Satisfaction by Gender

Interestingly, significantly more women faculty than men are satisfied with the authority they have to pursue their own research and scholarly interests. On the other hand, significantly fewer of them than their male colleagues are satisfied with the "required mix of teaching, research, service, and administration." These results are difficult to interpret. If they are satisfied with the authority they have to follow their own research interests, but are dissatisfied with the required mix of teaching, research and service, it may mean that they believe they are being required to do too much service. Other research (Schweitzer & Hudson, 1990) has shown that women faculty are more likely than male faculty to be appointed by their department heads to sponsor student organizations. But, significantly fewer women than men were satisfied with the amount of time available for working with students as advisors or mentors. These results may suggest that although women advertising faculty want to spend more time with students, they may find that research cuts into time they believe they should be spending with students. In any case, this is an area in which department heads should examine their policies and procedures to be sure they are not unfairly taking advantage of their female faculty.

Critical Variables of Job Satisfaction

Overall job satisfaction among advertising faculty can, at least largely, be explained by the faculty's level of satisfaction on six variables: (1) quality of colleagues, (2) quality of leadership, (3) authority over course content, (4) required mix of teaching, research and service, (5) salary, and (6) quality of undergraduates. Five of these six variables are extrinsic to the job itself and fall into Herzberg's category of "dissatisfiers." Theoretically, then, increasing the level of satisfaction with these aspects of the job will not lead to increased motivation, but will help to increase overall job satisfaction. And, because assistant professors are generally less satisfied than more senior faculty on these elements of the job, administrators should concentrate on working with their junior faculty to increase satisfaction with these critical elements of the job.

Quality of colleagues can at least partially be controlled by careful recruiting of new faculty and, perhaps, by a mentoring policy. Some JMC programs, for example, assign senior faculty members as mentors to junior faculty with similar research interests. Such a policy should help to accomplish two major objectives: help the new faculty member get a good start on a continuing research and publication record and to impress the new faculty member with the quality of her or his colleagues.

Faculty members' perceptions of leadership are probably influenced by the amount and quality of time spent with the faculty member. Peters and Waterman (1982), for example describe "management by wandering around." Their point is that successful company managers get to

know their employees by not only being accessible, but by actually visiting employees in the employee's work environment.

Control of course content probably means, to some extent, control over courses taught. If new or junior faculty are given the most undesirable courses to teach and if they are not allowed to teach graduate seminars, it stands to reason they will be unhappy. Course assignments should be made with the faculty member's interests in mind, not just to fill the classrooms. Senior faculty may have to be convinced to "share the wealth" with junior faculty for the good of the program, if not for the job satisfaction of the junior faculty.

The mix of teaching, research and service needs to be equitably balanced among all faculty. Certainly no faculty member should be overburdened in any one area, especially if the assignment will not count much for merit pay consideration or for tenure and promotion. Perhaps "rank has its privileges," but administrators must take into consideration the long-range consequences to the program when making assignments among faculty.

Salary is a difficult subject given the scarce resources available to most administrators, but fair and equitable compensation plans should be developed an implemented.

The quality of students can be, and has been, addressed by the implementation of various control procedures including prerequisite course requirements, minimum grade point averages and other means of "quality control." The point here is that it is demoralizing to both faculty and good students if the ratio of poor students to good students is allowed to swing toward poor students.

Dimensions of Job Satisfaction

The factor analysis showed that there are, essentially, three factors involved in overall job satisfaction: those elements extrinsic to the job itself, elements intrinsic to the job and salary. Effective administrators will learn what elements of the job motivate each of their faculty and do what they can to insure that those elements are adequately represented in the faculty member's job assignment.

Clearly, some advertising faculty are more concerned with the quality of their colleagues, quality of leadership and the quality of undergraduates than with other elements of their jobs. Others are more concerned with elements of the job itself: content of courses taught, freedom to follow their own research or scholarship agenda, the proper balance of research, teaching and service and time to work with students. Salary, as a separate factor, is apparently a major problem given that a minority of all faculty are satisfied with their salaries. It is interesting that even though advertising faculty in business schools are paid considerably more than those in JMC programs, they are just as dissatisfied with salary as JMC faculty. Satisfaction with salary is a relative concept. Equity theory (Adams, 1963) suggests that one's satisfaction with his or her pay is based on his or her evaluation of what he or she is paid compared to others. Thus, if advertising faculty

perceive that they are not being paid fairly compared to other faculty in other disciplines, they will be dissatisfied with their pay.

This research has shown that advertising faculty, whether located in schools of business or in JMC programs are not terribly well-satisfied with their jobs. On most measures of job satisfaction, they are less well-satisfied than the U.S. faculty as a whole. On the other hand, the results have identified the areas of dissatisfaction and there are clear, if not easy, ways to deal with job dissatisfaction among advertising faculty.

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TABLE 1

Advertising Educators'
Job Satisfaction by Discipline

	Proportion "very" or "somewhat" satisfied			
	Business Administration	JMC	Total	National Sample[1]
Authority I have to make decisions about course content.	100%	97%	98%	96%
Authority I have to follow my own research/scholarly interests.[2]	95	89	91	-
Authority I have to select which, if any, service activities in which to participate.	82	79	80	-
Quality of my colleagues in my department.	62	69	67	84
My job, overall.	78	81	80	85
Time available for working with students as an advisor or mentor.	63	58	60	79
Required mix of teaching, research, service, and administration.	60	54	56	72
Quality of leadership in my department.	50	57	55	69
Quality of undergraduates I have taught here.	55	63	60	67
My salary.	45	41	42	58
N =	(66)	(144)	(210)	

[1] Based on all faculty responses to survey. Source: Mooney, C.J. (1990, February 7). New U.S. survey assembles a statistical portrait of the American professoriate. *Chronicle of Higher Education*, p. A-16.

[2] $t = 2.11$, $df = 208$, $p = .04$

TABLE 2

Advertising Educators' Job Satisfaction
by Highest Degree Offered by Program

	Proportion "very" or "somewhat" satisfied		
	Ph.D./D.B.A.	M.A./M.S.	B.A./B.S.
Authority I have to make decisions about course content.	99%	99%	95%
Authority I have to follow my own research/scholarly interests.	92	92	86
Authority I have to select which, if any service activities in which to participate.	79	82	76
Quality of my colleagues in my department.	72	64	66
My job, overall.	78	81	78
Time available for working with students as an advisor or mentor.	49	61	62
Required mix of teaching, research, service, and administration.	54	53	60
Quality of leadership in my department.	51	58	52
Quality of undergraduates I have taught here.	57	57	66
My salary.	38	44	41
N = (210)	(76)	(97)	(37)

TABLE 3

Advertising Educators' Job Satisfaction
by Tenure Status

	Proportion "very" or "somewhat" satisfied		
	Temporary/ Part-time	Non-tenured/ Tenure track	Tenured
Authority I have to make decisions about course content.	100%	97%	99%
Authority I have to follow my own research/scholarly interests.[1]	56	91	95
Authority I have to select which, if any, service activities in which to participate.[2]	67	73	88
Quality of my colleagues in my department.	56	68	67
My job, overall.	78	78	81
Time available for working with students as an advisor or mentor.[3]	78	51	64
Required mix of teaching, research, service, and administration.	33	51	63
Quality of leadership in my department.	78	55	51
Quality of undergraduates I have taught here.	56	55	63
My salary.	22	46	40
N = (199)	(9)	(94)	(96)

		DF	SS	MS	F-test	Comparison	Fisher PLSD
1	Between	2	7.04	3.52	6.43	Temp. vs. Non-tenured	.51*
	Within	195	106.82	.55	$p = .002$	Temp. vs. Tenured	.51*
	Total	197	113.86				
2	Between	2	12.18	6.09	6.24	Non-tenured vs. Tenured	.28*
	Within	194	189.36	.98	$p = .002$		
	Total	196	201.54				
3	Between	2	5.57	2.79	2.45	Non-tenured vs. Tenured	.31*
	Within	195	221.88	1.14	$p = .089$		
	Total	197	227.45				

* Significant at 95% level.

TABLE 4

Advertising Educators' Job Satisfaction by Academic Rank

	Proportion "very" or "somewhat" satisfied			
	Instructor/ Lecturer	Assistant Professor	Associate Professor	Full Professor
Authority I have to make decisions about course content.[1]	100	96	100	98
Authority I have to follow my own research/scholarly interests.[2]	64	88	91	100
Authority I have to select which, if any, service activities in which to participate.[3]	64	72	84	89
Quality of my colleagues in my department.	73	61	65	77
My job, overall.	73	76	78	89
Time available for working with students as an advisor or mentor.[4]	45	41	55	78
Required mix of teaching, research, service, and administration.[5]	45	41	55	78
Quality of leadership in my department.	64	51	55	56
Quality of undergraduates I have taught here.	73	53	64	64
My salary.	18	37	49	45
N = (199)	(11)	(76)	(67)	(56)

		DF	SS	MS	F-test	Comparison	Fisher PLSD
1	Between	3	2.83	.94	3.78	Assistant vs. Associate	.16*
	Within	206	51.36	.25	$p = .011$	Assistant vs. Professor	.17*
	Total	209	54.2				
2	Between	3	7.72	2.57	4.7	Instuctor vs. Assistant	.47*
	Within	206	112.87	.55	$p = .003$	Instructor vs. Associate	.47*
	Total	209	120.60			Instructor vs. Professor	.48*
						Assistant vs. Professor	.26*
3	Between	3	13.52	4.51	4.7	Assistant vs. Associate	.32*
	Within	205	197.25	.96	$p = .004$	Assistant vs. Professor	.34*
	Total	208	210.77				
4	Between	3	11.94	4.98	4.98	Instructor vs. Assistant	.67*
	Within	206	227.25	1.1	$p = .004$	Assistant vs. Professor	.36*
	Total	209	242.20				
5	Between	5	23.43	8.48	6.97	Assistant vs. Professor	.38*
	Within	205	249.46	1.22	$p = .0002$	Associate vs. Professor	.39*
	Total	208	274.89				

* Significant at 95% level.

TABLE 5

Advertising Educators' Job Satisfaction
by Gender

	Proportion "very" or "somewhat" satisfied	
	Male	Female
Authority I have to make decisions about course content.	99%	97%
Authority I have to follow my own research/scholarly interests.[1]	79	96
Authority I have to select which, if any, service activities in which to participate.	82	76
Quality of my colleagues in my department.	68	64
My job, overall.[2]	82	75
Time available for working with students as an advisor or mentor.[3]	64	49
Required mix of teaching, research, service, and administration.[4]	60	44
Quality of leadership in my department.	58	47
Quality of undergraduates I have taught here.	60	61
My salary.	41	46
N = (209)	(151)	(58)

1 $t = 3.3$, $df = 207$, $p = .001$

2 $t = 2.1$, $df = 206$, $p = .037$

3 $t = 2.5$, $df = 207$, $p = .013$

4 $t = 2.7$, $df = 206$, $p = .008$

TABLE 6

Rotated Factor Solution of
Advertising Educators' Job Satisfaction

	"Extrinsic"	"Intrinsic"	"Economic"
Authority I have to make decisions about course content.	.158	**.744**	-.145
Authority I have to follow my own research/scholarly interests.	.035	**.802**	.155
Authority I have to select which, if any, service activities in which to participate.	.406	**.593**	.033
Quality of my colleagues in my department.	**.794**	.211	-.160
My job, overall.	**.636**	.374	.279
Time available for working with students as an advisor or mentor.	.389	**.435**	.193
Required mix of teaching, research, service, and administration.	.270	**.603**	.436
Quality of leadership in my department.	**.771**	.236	.036
Quality of undergraduates I have taught here.	**.668**	-.038	.399
My salary.	.045	.071	**.874**
Eigenvalues	3.930	1.142	1.071
Proportion of variance explained	0.393	0.114	0.107

TABLE 7

Multiple Regression of Advertising
Educators' Job Satisfaction

Variables	Beta	*t*-value	Probability
Quality of my colleagues in my department.	.26	4.01	.0001
Quality of leadership in my department.	.18	2.66	.0084
Authority I have to make decisions about course content.	.17	3.01	.0029
Required mix of teaching, research service, and administration.	.17	2.91	.0041
My salary.	.17	3.08	.0023
Quality of undergraduates I have taught here.	.14	2.37	.019

Adjusted R-squared = .45; F (6, 196) = 28.71, $p < .001$